

CHURCHES

in

METROPOLITAN CHRISTCHURCH

A

Study

in

URBAN GEOGRAPHY

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THE ANGLICAN CATHEDRAL, CHRIST CHURCH

CHURCHES IN METROPOLITAN CHRISTCHURCH
(A Study in Urban Geography)

I THE RELATIONSHIP of CHURCHES to the STUDY of
URBAN GEOGRAPHY:

The object of this thesis: lack of any previous studies in this field of urban geography; lack of source material; the church in the English village; the geographic importance of churches in determining the settlement pattern, and of the settlement pattern in determining church location; the relation of churches to other features of the urban pattern; factors in the determination of church location; general and specific factors; service areas; the validity of adopting a denominational approach.

II GENERAL FACTORS in CHURCH LOCATION:

General factors of location; urban and suburban centres; main highways and cross-roads; corner sites; the distribution of churches in the metropolitan area and its regions; the coverage of the urban area (for denominations and for religious bodies as a whole); parish boundaries; parish populations; source of land.

III SPECIFIC FACTORS in CHURCH LOCATION:

Specific factors of location; historical treatment; transport; tributary regions, past and present; property owned by churches and its uses; specialised churches.

IV CONCLUSION : PROBLEMS and TRENDS in the SOCIAL GEOGRAPHY of CHURCHES:

Problems and trends; especially those associated with population growth and changes in the urban pattern; the social geography of churches; churches or church halls; the town planning aspect of churches; the appearance of churches; their nature and landscape effects.

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I. THE RELATIONSHIP of CHURCHES to the STUDY of URBAN GEOGRAPHY:

"The characteristic expression of a religious faith - churches, wayside shrines, and cemeteries - is of primary geographical importance"

- Kniffen¹.

This thesis is an attempt to show that churches are relevant material for studies in urban geography. They are features of the urban landscape in the same way as are factories, hotels, schools and shops, and they provide matter of geographical significance - the determining factors of their location may be analysed; their distribution forms a pattern; they are related to other urban features; and their parishes are often opposed to the regions from which their congregations are drawn. On the whole geographers seem willing to recognise other urban features as components of urban geography, but they are singularly ready to omit churches from urban studies. The object of this work is to illustrate the belief that "the characteristic expression of a religious faith ... is of primary geographical importance" in urban studies and of equal status with other features of the urban landscape.

¹ F. B. Kniffen : "Round Table on the Problems of Cultural Geography"

Ann. Assn. Am. Geogrs., 27 (1937),
155 - 175.

In many respects this study is a venture into a field of research that geographers have previously failed to investigate. In recent years the number of studies in urban geography has increased considerably. Many have been concerned with the geographical analysis of an urban settlement as a whole, while others have concentrated on particular urban features such as factories. In the former approach, churches have been mentioned incidentally, but in the latter, which provides scope for special treatment of the different types of urban structures, churches have as yet found no place. The lack of previous studies in this field of urban geography implies that the statements on churches in geographic¹ studies of particular urban settlements must continue to be incidental, for it is necessary to have studied the geography of churches adequately before it is possible to relate churches reliably to the study of the whole urban area. Most other important urban features have received more or less satisfactory treatment, but a great deal of research remains to be undertaken on the geography of churches.

Many reasons may be found for the omission of churches from urban studies. Some of the more important of these are the lack of interest by geographers in this aspect of the subject, the inability to perceive any practical use that such a study could serve (as compared, for instance, with the practical benefits that may be derived from the study of the geography of factories), and the lack of source material¹, especially statistics. Church authorities do not keep many statistics and certainly few that would be of interest to the geographer.² Further, it must be said that many

of those concerned with the compilation of the statistics have not been specially trained in the work, and therefore the accuracy of the statistics is sometimes questionable. Some denominations do not make available information in their possession that would be desirable, not to say necessary, for a study of the geography of churches³. Denominations also adopt different bases and methods for collecting and presenting their statistics, which makes it difficult to compare denominations and to gain an overall view of a particular aspect of all religious bodies⁴.

Most of these difficulties arise from the size of the urban area and the complex state that results from the presence of several denominations. More simple is the situation in the small separate community - a village or township - rather than in the city or suburb of the large urban area. The English village provides a good basis for the geographical study of the church in relation to its parish, because it is a self-contained and relatively small community⁵.

It is often the case in the English village that the church strongly influences the pattern of settlement. This is not merely an instance of the church being in a particular position and the settlement congregating round it in the course of time because of its significance, but much more the church, being the focus of much of the villagers' thought, is given a central and pre-eminent position relative to the other buildings of the village. As English villages grow, the church remains the geographical focus of the settlement.

The nearest approach to the English village in

urban areas in New Zealand is the dormitory suburbs and rural settlements within the urban limits. The Church plays a much less significant part in determining the pattern of settlement today than it has done in previous centuries. This is largely because the state has taken over responsibility for functions once performed by the Church, for until the nineteenth century a church usually included a school, a hospital and a relief centre. Consequently there has been less attraction and determination of settlement by the Church during the past century⁶. This is particularly obvious in New Zealand because of the relative youth of the country and the absence of any one denomination dominating the scene. Further, as villages and towns give way to cities with their rapid growth and transport, the Church becomes even less important in determining the pattern of settlement.

Many of the churches in large cities have had their location determined largely by the settlement pattern, and because this thesis is considering churches in a large urban area, a discussion of this fact will occupy an important section. Suffice it to say here that, rather than the settlement pattern on the whole being related to the location of churches, the churches themselves are being located in terms of the settlement pattern, choosing sites preferably on main transport routes and in the midst of shops and other non-residential buildings of an urban or suburban centre.

It has been noted already that the primary factor to which churches are related is settlement; wherever a community is formed, the church is soon conspicuous in its midst. But the nature of the settlement - houses, flats, and hostels, as well as the intensity of the dwellings - also has bearing on the location of churches.

Population, though a very general factor, is primary in church location. It is difficult to accept this fact on examining the concentration of churches in the city regions of urban areas, but it must be remembered that churches are one of the most static features of the urban landscape. Whatever the present situation may be, churches were originally located in response to the demand created by settlement.

In the relation of churches to other features of the urban landscape, it is noticeable that churches tend to avoid locations adjacent to large open spaces (parks, sports grounds, etc.)⁷, factories, especially where these engage in heavy or noxious industries, and hotels, warehouses, theatres and large business or office blocks⁸. On the other hand, churches seem to be attracted to schools, colleges and hospitals. Though there are many minor factors that make these urban features attracting or detracting forces of church location, the underlying principle is one that emphasises a point already established : in every case the presence or absence of people⁹. Public transport, the pattern of urban roads and the physical character of the district all have a definite relation to the churches of the urban area as will be seen later.

All these are among the more objective factors that determine church location. Those that govern the location of churches are many and varied, and for an adequate survey it would be necessary to assess the operative factors by a separate examination of each church. This is a well-nigh impossible task; not all the factors have been objective, and evaluation of the part played by subjective values would be difficult. Whilst many have not

been recorded, others have been obscured by time, so that they have become matters of contemporary speculation. It is possible, however, to distinguish between general factors applying to a greater or lesser extent to the vast majority of churches in the urban area, and specific factors that apply to individual churches or those in a particular region - city, suburb, new housing area, dormitory suburb or rural district. This entails investigating as far as possible the factors that have been involved in determining the location of all churches in a particular urban area and highlighting the similarities and differences. These general and specific factors are of such importance that a separate chapter will be given to each of them.

Before passing on from church location, it should be made clear that churches are seldom located on the site which, all things considered, would be most advantageous. Against the possibility of obtaining the most desirable location must be placed the practical matter of the availability of land. This introduces an economic factor into church location and the sources of land become an important matter for investigation. Thus Church authorities must endeavour to reconcile the divergence that generally exists between the most desirable and the available locations.

Church location cannot be divorced from settlement, so that the next step in the study of the geography of churches is to analyse the areas served by the churches. This introduces two concepts. Firstly, the parish system which is adopted by most of the major denominations as an expedient regional division of the urban area¹⁰. Secondly, the actual tributary region of

the church, i.e. the area from which it draws its congregation, which often differs markedly from the parish.

It has been noted that churches are static features of the landscape, but it must not be assumed that parish boundaries are similarly unchangeable. In a rapidly growing metropolitan area like Christchurch, where the settlement pattern is altering continuously and new churches being erected, this form of regionalism is subject to frequent changes. Old parishes are ever being modified and new ones created. Yet for all their variance with the passage of time they have a place in the study of the geography of churches. The general shape of parishes, their relative populations and their relation to the church or churches they contain requires investigation.

The area from which churches draw their congregations varies greatly between churches in different sections of the urban area, and reveals marked changes parallel to the historical growth of the urban area¹¹.

In any study of the geography of churches it is further necessary to examine the distribution of churches, both of the urban area as a whole and of its component regions. The result may be referred to as the "coverage" of the urban area by the churches. This aspect of the study lends itself more readily than do some of the others to a denominational approach¹², which will be employed to supplement the coverage of the religious bodies as a whole. Such a survey will reveal what parts of the urban area are not being adequately served by the churches and those that are "over-served".

The relationship of churches to the study of urban geography having been discussed, the approach outlined will be applied to Metropolitan Christchurch in the succeeding chapters.

II. GENERAL FACTORS in CHURCH LOCATION

When reference is made to the "locational factors" the implication is that an advantage is gained when a church is erected on a particular site or on one of several such sites rather than in another place. The advantage is the practical benefit that accrues to the church in terms of the fulfilling of its function for the area it seeks to serve.

The immediate object in this section is the construction of a general theory of location of churches; that is, a desire as far as possible to derive from the apparent disorder displayed by the distribution of churches in Metropolitan Christchurch some hypothetical overall rules. These rules may be designated general factors of location. This involves a consideration of the various elements that Church authorities must take into account before the establishing of a church, and these elements must be of such a nature that they are applicable to any situation - this is not, of course, to say that in practice every church will necessarily exhibit the fruits of such consideration by its location. What is needed is a knowledge of the general factors of location that are applicable to a greater or lesser degree to every church. Once these are known it is possible to enquire to what extent the orientation of churches can thus be explained.

There are one hundred and seventy-four churches representing twenty-one denominations within the boundaries of Metropolitan Christchurch. These exhibit a far from uniform distribution and indeed express a marked concentration in the central region of the urban area

and a number of smaller concentrations in suburban centres. But it is an oversimplification to say that the churches are more numerous and concentrated in the city and more dispersed in the suburbs, and, in fact, sparse at the margins of the built-up area where settlement is interspersed with intensively farmed land.

Yet relative to the distribution of population in the metropolitan area, the concentration of churches in the regions of the city and the dormitory suburbs is obvious. Based on the population distribution as it existed at the time of the 1951 census, the proportion of population to churches in the major regions of the urban area is as follows : in the city region there was one church to every 450 people, in the suburbs one to every 1070 people, and in the dormitory suburbs one to every 380 people.

The comparatively low proportion in the city region may be attributed to two facts. On the one hand, there has been a marked decline of population in the city area; as industrial and commercial enterprises increase in number, there is a tendency for people to move from the city into another region of the urban area. On the other is the central position that the city occupies in the urban area; that this attracts churches is evident from the fact that one third of the thirty city churches represent either a Sect or a minor Protestant denomination with no other church in the metropolitan area.

Few denominations have sufficient adherents in the metropolitan area to warrant a church in every suburb. The considerable variation in the number of churches per

suburb may be due to one or more of the following reasons:

- (a) The size of the suburb varies considerably; witness the fact that four Christchurch suburbs have two Anglican churches each.
- (b) The division of the residential area into suburbs is arbitrary in the sense that no definite boundaries between suburbs are recognised. When a denomination locates a church to cater for two or three suburbs the site chosen is often intermediary between the suburban centres and the church assumes the name of the best-known suburb in its orbit.
- (c) It will be noted that the suburbs with the most churches are generally the older ones near the city. In the same way as the city acted as an attractive force to the minor denominations after the major ones became established, so to a lesser extent the older suburbs acted as a magnet to the smaller denominations in more recent years.

Because the existence of a settlement is a major determinant in church location, it can therefore be said that the primary location factor of any church is the area it seeks to serve. The size of the area will be largely determined by the number of churches of the particular denomination and their distribution throughout the urban area. Independent of size, however, it is important that the church be located in such a position that it is accessible to the whole of its tributary region. Thus it is a general axiom of location that the church should be in the middle of the area it wishes to serve rather than on the perimeter. This is most important if the section of the urban area that is its parish has a clearly defined centre, with an agglomeration

of shops and public buildings¹. This area is recognised as the centre of the community, and it is paramount that the church should be associated with that centre and identified with it in the minds of the residents. Almost half the churches in the suburbs, dormitory suburbs and new housing areas of Christchurch are within a hundred yards of a suburban centre.

Where such a centre is absent, or where a church is seeking to cater for the residents of more than one suburb, another element must be borne in mind within this general factor of church location. People are accustomed to travelling between their homes and the city, but comparatively seldom do they travel from their homes in a direction away from the city. It follows that people will be willing to journey a considerably longer distance in the direction of the city than away from it in order to worship. There seems therefore to be sound psychological reason for locating churches in the section of their parish nearest to the city².

For obvious reasons the first of these two principles does not apply to the same extent to city churches as it does to those in other parts of the urban area. The second in its turn does not apply to city churches or to those in the dormitory suburbs which tend to be more self-contained communities than other regions of the urban area.

Closely allied to the factor requiring the Church authorities to locate the church in relation to its tributary region, is that necessitating the church being in a conspicuous position in the community. The church must be so located in the settlement that its existence is impressed on the residents' minds. This is particularly the case in suburban areas and new housing

districts which are related to the city by continuous settlement, for under these circumstances unless the church occupies a prominent location, people who do not live within a few blocks will be unaware of its existence. A church in the midst of a maze of small streets in a settlement block remains virtually hidden. Again this factor is less important in the dormitory suburbs and rural districts of the metropolitan area, which, because they are separated from the main body of urban settlement by stretches of open country, tend to be more self-contained. If the church has been built on a main thoroughfare, it will be passed by hundreds if not thousands of people every day as the residents of its tributary region go to or from the city.

Thus it is a general factor of location that where possible a church should be located on a radial highway, or, if such a site is unobtainable, on one of the major cross-roads in the parish. The value of a radial highway over a major crossroad is purely quantitative : it is probable that over a given period more people will travel the former than the latter. The recognised value of such locations is obvious when the proportion of churches in Metropolitan Christchurch on such routes is noted (Table I). Of the ninety-eight churches in the suburbs and new housing areas (which are the only regions in which this measure is a true guide), fifty-five of them are situated on either a radial highway or a main crossroad. Beyond the boundaries of the city region such main roads are definitely a minority, but in the city it is difficult in many cases to distinguish between a major road and a less important one. It is therefore difficult to estimate the number of city churches that are thus located. It is further testimony to the value of such locations that many of the churches which have

Figure I



"A church ... at the junction of a radial
highway and a major cross-road" -

- St Stephen's Church of England,
Shirley -

been unable to obtain sites on radial highways or major crossroads have been located as near these routes as possible.

For similar reasons there is a practical benefit to the church that is located on a corner site. It has the added value that it is seen by those travelling on either of two roads. The most satisfactory location of all would be at the junction of a radial highway and a major crossroad, but there are few such sites in the urban area and only a small proportion of these are occupied by churches. But more than a third of the churches in Metropolitan Christchurch have been located on corner sites.

Figures 7 to 11 illustrate what may be termed the "coverage" by major denominations of the urban area of Christchurch. They depict concentric circles of quarter, half and three-quarter mile radius from churches. These reveal at a glance the proportion of the residential area beyond these distances from the churches of particular denominations. The number of churches a denomination possesses in the urban area will largely determine the adequacy of its coverage; because churches are located with reference to the areas they endeavour to serve, it is a reasonable assumption that the denomination with the most churches will have the most satisfactory coverage of the metropolitan district. Such an analysis has less application to churches in rural districts and some dormitory suburbs than to churches in other parts of the urban area, for these districts are separated from the main residential part of the town by stretches of open country, and their churches are therefore located without relation to neighbouring churches of the same denomination.

The accompanying maps (figures 8 to 11) clearly illustrate that, relative to the number of their churches in the urban area, no denomination has a distribution of churches that caters satisfactorily for the whole metropolitan area. The pattern of distribution of churches of all the major denominations exhibits overlapping of service areas and relatively large parts of residential area unserved³⁻⁷.

Church authorities are often faced with the problem of reconciling the variation in location between where it is considered desirable to erect a church and where land is available, for today as in the past, the two seldom coincide. Many factors will influence the attitude of Church authorities to an available section of land. Some of the more important are economic considerations, the proximity to churches of its own and other denominations, and the results of surveys showing the number of its adherents close to the site.

Over the years there has been an ever-increasing tendency for denominations to acquire sites for their churches by direct transaction, either purchasing the land outright or gaining possession through medium of a long lease. Therefore, all churches in new housing areas and most suburban churches are built on land the authorities have obtained by these means. When land is acquired in this manner, the church authorities are (within the limits imposed by available land and relative costs) in a position to choose the most suitable site in relation to the principles of church location.

However, in Christchurch in earlier years, church sites were often obtained by other means and from other sources. The cost of land has been an important fact in

determining church location. When, from whatever source, a section of land is available either free or at a greatly reduced figure, church authorities must decide between this site which is cheap but possibly poorly located relative to the area to be served, or of obtaining a more suitable site at considerable cost. In analysing the sources of land of churches in the city, older suburbs, dormitory suburbs and rural districts of Metropolitan Christchurch, there is often evidence that this situation must have arisen and as a matter of financial expediency, the former option accepted.

Christchurch was a Church of England settlement and in the original plan of the city there were four areas set aside for parish churches and a plot of land designated for a cathedral. Only three of the former were utilised as proposed, so that in terms of source of land these four Anglican churches form a special category. Many churches of the major denominations are located on land donated by one of their adherents. In the early days of Christchurch some denominations obtained land for city churches by application to the Commissioner of Crown Lands⁸.

Most of the major denominations adopt a parish or circuit system of subdivision of the metropolitan area. The number of parishes is not directly related to the number of churches, for many parishes have more than one church⁹. Parishes with the most churches are usually in dormitory suburbs, while city parishes adhere closely to the principle of one church to one parish.¹⁰ Sometimes a suburban church includes in its parish the district and church of a dormitory suburb¹¹, and a church in a new housing area is often linked with one

in an adjacent older suburb until such time as the new area reaches sufficient dimensions to form a separate parish.¹²

It has already been noted that churches are comparatively static features of the landscape, but it must not be assumed that parishes and their boundaries are similarly unchangeable. With the population pattern of the urban area altering continuously, and new churches always being erected, this practical regionalism is remarkably fluid.

It is noteworthy how often parish boundaries follow rivers and railway lines that form obvious divisions between suburbs¹³, but where, as in the majority of cases, such definite boundaries do not exist, parish boundaries generally conform to the road pattern. The roads chosen are often major crossroads, but very seldom the radial highways. Consequently the situation arises (common to many similar attempts at urban regionalism) in which neighbours living on opposite sides of the same street are in different parishes. In the rural districts of the metropolitan area parish boundaries are sometimes drawn arbitrarily across open country with no relation to the road pattern or any other existing feature. As would be expected, parish boundaries are established in relation to the parish church or churches. In the suburbs they are usually drawn so that the church is located in that section of the parish which is nearest to the city, rather than in such a manner as to place the church at the centre of the parish. This does not occur to the same extent in city parishes and is absent from parishes in dormitory suburbs. Nor is it the case in parishes which, because of some geographical peculiarity, tend to be self-contained communities¹⁴.

Churches tend to be equidistant from their radial parish boundaries, i.e. those parallel to the main highways from the city, as opposed to the circumference parish boundaries at right angles to the main highways.

The population enclosed by the boundaries of a parish is but an indication of the number of adherents of a denomination within that area. Because of possible differences in church affiliation between the various socio-economic classes, this measure can only be employed as a rough guide. The parishes containing the largest populations are those of the city and the older suburbs, while those in new housing areas and dormitory suburbs tend to contain smaller numbers of people. Obviously the denomination with the largest number of parishes will have the smallest average population per parish. The average population per parish in Metropolitan Christchurch is 7,500 - 10,000, but the most remarkable fact about parish populations in the urban area is their tremendous range : they vary from over 18,000 to as few as 1,500¹⁵. (See figures 13 and 14).

III. SPECIFIC FACTORS IN CHURCH LOCATION

The question was asked in the preceding chapter, how far can the location of churches be explained by general causes and how far only by introducing special causes? It was shown that, while a survey of the general causes is necessary, these alone are not sufficient to account for church location. Obviously there are special causes of location which concern only a particular church or group of churches.

These conclusions raise another question : is it possible to survey the several individual locational factors which are to be found in the various churches? Clearly a complete survey could only be made experimentally. By ascertaining further facts it is possible to investigate the particular causes of church location not explained by the general factors. There is no method whereby special locational factors for given churches could be deduced from known premises. Specific factors of church location are of such a nature that they cannot be recognised in advance, but only concluded by investigation. Attention will be concentrated on those specific factors of church location which are applicable in one form or another to many Christchurch churches, because it is a manifest impossibility for anyone to analyse and evaluate all the locational factors that have been operative in the siting of each church in the metropolitan area.

The location and distribution of churches in Metropolitan Christchurch must now be accounted for as far as possible. There have, of course, been particular reasons behind the location of each church, but some reasons common to a number of them may be advanced. Much of the

explanation of the location of churches may be found in the historical setting. This involves relating the church to the period in which it was built and analysing the factors affective at the time. One of the important factors thus introduced is the stage of growth of the urban area together with its structure.

Fifteen years after the arrival of the first four ships at Lyttelton, three of the Anglican parish churches proposed in the original plan of the city had been erected and the foundation stone of the Cathedral had been laid¹. So the Church of England as represented in the city today was established by the time other major denominations were erecting their city churches, and well before the minor Protestant denominations and the Sects appeared.

The major denominations had erected their churches on central city sites - the central business district - years before the sects began to make an impression on the Christchurch scene with their halls and churches. Land in this very heart of the city early came to be at a premium. To the numerically small and generally poor Sects, the purchase of even a small section of land within these limits became a virtual impossibility. However, they realised the desirability of having their churches as near the centre of the city as finances would permit; hence the ring of Sectarian churches round the inner core of the city².

The city churches of the minor Protestant denominations have been established through a greater period of time than the city churches of any of the other three denominational groups. This accounts for their wider distribution in the city region.

It has been previously remarked that there is a tendency towards nucleation shown by churches in older suburbs. This is probably due to the fact that, at the time of their establishment, transport between these suburbs and the city was not the rapid simple matter it is today. Nor (in most cases) was there a continuous residential link between city and suburb; hence these suburbs tended to be more self-contained and to form communities in themselves. As a result, churches were nucleated in a suburban "centre". In older suburbs nearer the city, these centres have often surrendered to competition from the expanding city area, while the churches, being more static features, have remained. Those older suburbs further from the city received new impetus as the farmland that once separated them from the city was converted into residential areas. This resulted in new churches being established side by side with the older ones³.

The wider distribution of churches in the newer suburbs is due to the nature of the growth of these suburbs. Whereas the older suburbs began as self-contained communities with characteristic nucleation of churches in a suburban centre, the newer suburbs have grown gradually with the outward expansion of the urban limits and often lack any recognised centre. Hence, churches have been located with less reference to suburban centres and are therefore more uniformly distributed throughout the newer suburbs.

The typical nucleation of churches in dormitory suburbs of Metropolitan Christchurch is due to the geographic character of these suburbs. They are isolated from the main part of the built-up area and consequently tend to be more self-contained than the suburbs. They

have a recognised centre with shops, offices and factories, and it is in and around this centre that the churches are grouped. This "separation" of the dormitory suburbs from the main part of the urban area is a contributing factor to the larger number of churches in proportion to population, and to the greater denominational representation relative to those represented in most suburbs. Many denominations, because they believed their adherents would not travel the distance to city churches, felt it necessary to have a church in these areas, even though the number of adherents did not warrant it and the congregation seemed likely to remain small. As their appearance suggests, these areas often had their beginnings in the very early days of Christchurch, and though they may have grown considerably since, many of the buildings, including the churches, reflect the age of their erection. The dormitory suburbs that have arisen in more recent years, e.g. Mount Pleasant, do not exhibit the large number of denominations which, relative to population, are found in the older industrial and seaside dormitory suburbs.



"... many of the churches reflect the age of their erection."

- Heathcote Methodist Church.

Figure II

Halswell, Harewood, Marshlands and Masham are the rural townships of Metropolitan Christchurch. Only three denominations - Anglican, Methodist, and Roman Catholic - support churches in these districts, and this situation has remained unchanged since before the beginning of the century. No church has been built in any of these townships since 1900. All four of these townships were recognised as rural centres comparatively early in the town's history, and the same factors that influenced church establishment in the dormitory suburbs applied in these districts at an earlier date and to a lesser extent.

One specific factor which has played an important part in the location of some churches in Metropolitan Christchurch is that of transport. This factor was most influential in the case of churches where the congregations were drawn predominantly from distant parts of the urban area, i.e. churches of the city and older suburbs. For the churches in these regions this factor is increasing in significance : with the growth in size and population of the urban area and the parallel decline in the population of the inner core, a growing proportion of the congregation of these churches comes from the outer suburbs well beyond their parish bounds. The city church is much more dependent today on transport to maintain its congregation than it was at the time of its erection. Yet against this it must be pointed out that transport is a much faster and simpler matter than it was fifty years ago. Because the major denominations have a relatively satisfactory coverage of the urban area there is less need for their adherents to travel the longer distance to the city to worship (though a proportion still do, probably for personal reasons), than for those supporters of a minor Protestant denomination or a Sectarian church who have no church in the vicinity and must take

the journey to the city. Public transport is utilised more, as would be expected, by those attending worship in the city, than by those who attend church in any other region of the metropolitan area. Many people, of course, are independent of public transport for their attendance at worship, for they live within a short distance of the church and either walk or cycle. Those families owning cars, as well as being able to worship in their local church, are also in a position to take the journey into the city to attend church and still not be dependent on public transport.

Many people, however, do depend on public transport to enable them to attend worship. It is therefore desirable for churches whose congregations are thus affected to be located near a bus route. The Sunday bus services which allow passengers to arrive in the city ten or fifteen minutes before the commencement of morning worship cater for most of the suburbs in Christchurch. There are also buses leaving the city for every suburb half an hour after midday, thus giving worshippers ample time to reach the stop after the service has concluded. Transport arrangements are by no means as satisfactory regarding attendance at evening worship.

The area served by the church, which may be otherwise stated as the region from which any particular church draws its congregation, varies considerably between churches in different parts of the urban area. This pattern of "religious hinterlands" - because it is so directly related to population - reveals marked changes parallel to the historical growth of Metropolitan Christchurch. Quite definite changes can be traced over the years in the tributary regions of the churches of major denominations, especially in the case of their

city churches. Originally, these city churches each had in its parish sufficient people to assure a congregation. At the time of their erection, many of the churches now classified as city churches were then suburban churches. But with the growth of industry and commerce in the city corresponding to the growth of the urban area, the population of the inner core of the metropolitan area has shown a steady decline⁴, (except in the apartment house district where recent years have witnessed an increase in population as houses have been divided into flats). As a result most of the city churches of the major denominations draw the majority of their regular congregations from beyond their parish boundaries (figures 15 and 16).

There is often a measure of social prestige involved in being members of a city congregation. This is probably one of the many factors accounting for the maintenance and in some instances the increase of city congregations, despite the decline in city population. For various reasons, people living in the suburbs often prefer to be members of city churches. People who have attended a city church for most of their lives while resident in the city often maintain their connection with it long after they have moved into the suburbs. Similarly, if there is not a church of their denomination in the vicinity, people often make the longer journey to a city church; this tendency is greatest in suburbs where the majority of families have cars and are not dependent on public transport in order to worship in city churches. Suburban churches which are often "struggling" and have small congregations find the "drain" of adherents from their parishes to city churches quite a problem.

All churches in new housing areas together with

most churches in the suburbs, dormitory suburbs and rural areas, have been established more recently than city churches of the major denominations. Adherents of suburban churches occasionally come from a distant part of the urban area, but this is a much less frequent occurrence than suburban people coming to worship in city churches. In the suburban churches as with those in the other areas mentioned above, it is the general rule that churches draw almost all their congregations from their own parishes. Since these non-city churches were erected, there have been no marked changes in their tributary regions, though in many cases there has been an increase in area served and later a decline. As the urban area has grown and the population increased, suburban churches that were once on the perimeter of the built-up area have been overtaken and by-passed by residential growth extending rapidly into the rural areas. Consequently, their tributary regions often grow rapidly and extensively. This is generally a temporary phenomenon, however, for the new settlements sooner or later grow to such an extent that they can support a church of their own and become separate parishes. Thus the tributary region of the older church declines - not always suddenly as the creation of a new parish church would suggest, for people in the newly-settled districts have often developed strong ties with the older church and these may endure. Except where recent residential growth has overtaken or enlarged them, there has been no significant variation in the tributary regions of rural churches or of those in dormitory suburbs.

Whereas changes in the tributary regions of city churches may affect the whole of the urban area over a long period, variations in the "hinterlands" of

churches in new housing areas, while of much less magnitude, occur with much greater rapidity. So although a church in a new housing area is built to serve a particular new block of settlement, it often happens that by the time it begins its service, the settlement in the neighbourhood has greatly increased.

The tributary regions of almost all non-city churches extend for their greatest distance in the direction furthest from the city. Hence the church is usually located near the city margin of its tributary region.

In some denominations there is a tendency for certain churches to be distinctive either because of the functions they perform or because of the manner in which they fulfill the traditional practices. Such "specialisation" may result from a particular theological emphasis placed by a certain church on the faith of its denomination. A distinctive liturgy is often associated with this emphasis. Churches may specialise in marriages, baptisms, confirmations or burials. "Specialisation" in this sense implies a numerical dominance in these functions relative to the total performed by any other church in the metropolitan area. As a result of local history or of location, churches may tend to specialise in catering for certain groups in the community⁵.

Christchurch was originally an Anglican settlement, and it is therefore not surprising that in owning slightly over a square mile of property in Metropolitan Christchurch, the Church of England possesses considerably more land than the Roman Catholic Church, which ranks second.

The most common use of church property is for

churches and associated halls, buildings and (in many cases) residences of the parish clergy - manse, parsonages, presbyteries and vicarages. Such uses have been given detailed treatment elsewhere in this paper and at this stage attention will be focused on other uses of church property.

Among some of the major denominations one of the main uses of church property in respect of the area involved is that of schools and colleges and, occasionally, associated hostels. A few of the churches in the urban area have primary schools operated in conjunction with them⁶; there are some private primary schools that are not directly connected with parish churches, but which act as preparatory institutions for the secondary schools of these denominations. Those secondary schools that are controlled by churches⁷ are either in the city or the north-west sector of the urban area and generally on blocks of land considerably greater in area than even the largest of the church sites. Some of the major denominations support university hostels⁸. Many of these schools have their own chapels, which, because they cater for special groups in the community, could be classed as "specialised" churches.

~~At~~ All the major denominations have institutional interests in social welfare work in the metropolitan area. Orphanages, old people's homes and hospitals of various kinds occupy a significant proportion of the property owned by these churches. The area of the site of such institutions is generally larger than that of the property owned by these churches. The area of the site of such institutions is generally larger than that of the parish church. Most of the major denominations as well as some of the minor Protestant and Sectarian churches have connexional offices in the city region,

often indeed in the central business district⁹. Certain of the major denominations operate bookshops and employ a portion of their city property for this purpose.

Not all the cemeteries in Christchurch are church-owned. Most of those that are belong to the Church of England and are associated with parish churches. Most cemeteries owned by the churches are relatively small, and the Anglican Church owns the greatest area individually and collectively.

Mention must also be made of the vacant sections owned by many of the major denominations. Most of these are in the outer suburbs, new housing areas and rural districts of the urban area. They have generally been bought as sites for future churches or church residences. In the light of all the available information the Churches estimate the extent and direction of population increase in the metropolitan area in the coming years. Then, if possible, sites that appear favourable are purchased and held until settlement reaches a stage where it either confirms or disproves their calculations. During this interim stage the property is seldom utilised and no permanent buildings are erected. It is occasionally farmed under contract, but it still warrants the title of vacant or unused land by comparison with the manner in which most church properties in the urban area are utilised.

Finally, minor uses of church property in Metropolitan Christchurch are the colleges for training men for the ministry and women for particular orders¹⁰; the many residences owned by the major denominations which are not the homes of parish clergy, but are occ-

upied by ministers and laymen employed by the Churches in other than parish work. Such residences are sometimes the homes of retired ministers. Some of the major denominations own considerable areas of land which they do not employ themselves, but either lease or rent to other individuals or groups, who utilise the land as shops, offices, factories, warehouses, houses, etc.¹¹. The Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches use some of their property in the urban area for convents.

This cursive treatment of church property in the urban area has been intentionally brief. The object was simply to suggest in geographic terms the scope of Church activity and to press for the realisation that, while the main task of the Churches and the principal concern of this paper is represented in the church building, the nature of the faith these exemplify requires its adherents to give expression to it in practical modes of service to the community. And these modes also have geographical content in their expression. A detailed treatment of each of these forms, however, would give too great a breadth to the study, so for the sake of brevity their inclusion has been limited to this short general account.

IV. CONCLUSION : PROBLEMS and TRENDS in the SOCIAL GEOGRAPHY of CHURCHES

The major problems and trends apparent in the churches of Metropolitan Christchurch are associated either directly or indirectly with their social geography. Many of the former may be traced to neglect or ignorance of the locational factors suggested in the preceding chapters.

From the point of view of public recognition, the most pressing problem lies in the future of the city church. The question is often asked : what will happen to the large churches in the heart of the urban area if the present tendency continues for houses in their parishes to give place to commercial and industrial buildings? It is true that there has been a decline in population in the central core, but it should not be assumed too lightly that this trend will continue till the region is devoid of homes; high density flats are now being advocated as a means to halt the exodus, and the north-eastern sector of the city is maintaining its density through the increase in numbers of apartment and boarding houses. And yet the problem must not be ignored. Other large cities have been confronted with this situation, and it has been found necessary to adopt some alternative service for the churches to perform. One of the most practical suggestions seems to be the conversion of city churches from parish to specialised churches, catering for particular city communities such as factory churches, hospital churches, community centres for shop and office workers, and student churches.

If the matter is exercising the mind of Church authorities in the light of the present denominational

situation, the solution would be even more vital if some form of church union were constituted in the not too distant future (as appears feasible from the present climate of ecumenical opinion).

One of the major problems the churches must face is the rapid extension of settlement in Metropolitan Christchurch. Every church is affected to a greater or lesser extent by the increase in population, but the difficulties it creates for the individual church vary according to the region of the urban area in which the church is located. Population growth also creates a general problem for the denominations in the erection of new churches.

Each of the major regions of the urban area has its own peculiar church problems resulting from population growth. These are more obvious and more widely recognised as regards the city church. Whereas the population of the urban area has shown a marked increase, that of the inner core of this area, the city region, has exhibited a decline. This raises the problem of where the city church is to draw its congregation from. Certain residential forms that are becoming characteristic of the city provide a proportion of city church congregations : the residential hostels of schools, colleges and hospitals, and the large apartment house district in the north-east. Yet despite this, the majority of the congregation of the city church is drawn from the suburbs beyond its parish boundaries¹. In practice, apart from having much the same regular congregation, every city church tends to be a miniature cathedral². At present, many city churches of the major denominations are passing through a difficult and perhaps transitional period, trying to be parish churches in a cathedral situation.

Paralleling the depopulation of the city is an increase of population in the suburbs. Many of those who move into the suburbs and who actively profess a particular faith do not become members of the local representation of that faith, but maintain their connection with a city church. When the church is but recently established this presents a difficult problem. The gradual rise in population creates a problem for the suburban church as the sub-division of the suburb increases with vacant sections being utilised for houses and with houses being divided into flats³.

With the city churches drawing such large proportions of their congregations from widely separated parts of the urban area, the difficulty of fostering any community spirit in these churches is obvious. The lack of any natural community spirit resulting from an absence of "regional consciousness" of belonging to a particular suburb, is a problem that faces many suburban churches. Like Topsy, Christchurch suburbs have "just grown". Except where rail or river provide (somewhat fortuitously) a clear demarcation, the suburbs of the metropolitan area merge into one another. The lack of any definite boundaries between suburbs or non-residential areas separating them leads to a general confusion in the minds of many as to the suburb in which they actually reside. A corollary of this confusion is the want of any real sense of community consciousness, spirit or pride in the suburbs of Christchurch. It may well be the task of the suburban church to foster such a spirit.

The ideal, of course, would be to have a green belt or an area of unbuilt-on land separating the sub-

urbs⁴. Under such circumstances the parishes could be coextensive with the suburbs, and the community spirit would be attested to in both. But the social implications of the existing situation for the suburban churches raise the issue of whether the suburbs need churches as such, or if church halls - the prototype of church building in the new housing areas - would not more adequately cope in the fostering of community spirit. If it is conceded that a community spirit is a desirable quality, and its development, therefore, a worthwhile aim, then the church hall catering for the social needs of the parish as well as the spiritual would appear a more suitable answer. Through wisely-administered social activity, the church could become the focal point of district activity.

Many of the new housing areas of Metropolitan Christchurch are merely extensions of existing suburbs and are not recognised as distinct residential districts. Community spirit is frequently lacking in these regions. The residents often hesitate to change from the larger fellowship of the city or suburban church to which they are accustomed, to the small one associated with the newly-established church near their home⁵. Church halls have done much to develop a community consciousness in such areas. Strategically situated in the midst of the new housing block, the church hall is often the barometer of healthy local social activity through youth clubs, choirs, mothers' unions, etc.

A temporary feature peculiar to new housing areas, which nevertheless creates a problem for the Churches is weekend occupancy. This is particularly noticeable in Hoon Hay where many people are building

their own houses, living in city or suburb during the week and coming to their houses only during the week-ends. Such a way of living is not conducive to active support of a church or the development of community spirit. Even in the new housing blocks of recent years there has been no overall planning such as would be required if communities were to be established. Residential street has followed residential street, while shops, churches and other necessary public buildings of suburbia have been left largely to fend for themselves and to find vacant sections. This is not in the best interests of a community. Until recent years no consideration has been given to green belts or other means of separation from the main built-up area and the result in most cases has been the extension of the urban sprawl. It is often difficult for Church authorities under these conditions to know where the centre of the community will be located, and even if they are aware of this, the centre is either already occupied or too close to an existing church of that denomination in an adjacent suburb. The only solution to the above difficulties seems to lie in comprehensive town planning that can have the establishment of a community as its long-term policy. The developing block may then be treated as an entity and once a master plan has been arrived at, building can be regulated accordingly.

Population growth in dormitory suburbs provides a special problem for the churches. The dormitory suburb, which has been a largely self-contained entity for many years, is overtaken or enlarged by new housing blocks in a very short space of time. The churches in existence in the old dormitory suburb seek to revitalise themselves to cater for the rise in the population of their parishes. There is often a social

barrier between the "old identities" and the "new settlers" and in the eyes of the latter the church is associated with the other group because of its history and location, "... and ne'er the twain shall meet." Further, the church was built to cater for the population of the old district, and in terms of amenities, activities and seating capacity, is often incapable of meeting the new demand.

The problem of population growth in Metropolitan Christchurch affects churches in the rural areas only indirectly. Because they are rural churches, they cater for the farming population of large areas (relative to city parishes) and though none of these areas have yet been overtaken by urban expansion, the distance separating them from the advancing fringe of new housing is ever diminishing. The nearest suburban church used to be three or four miles away; now it is one or two. As country people are accustomed to travelling some miles to worship, the extra distance in modern cars does not deter them. Yet rural churches seem to be maintaining their congregations, for although they cannot generally supply the amenities or activities of suburban churches, they do provide a meeting place for people of homogeneous interest. The problem for the rural church is really one of the future, when, as appears probable, urban expansion will convert their agricultural parishes into residential blocks. Most rural churches are too small to accommodate such an increase. They may lose much of their character as, with urban expansion, they cease to be "rural" churches.

The distinction that has been made above between churches and church halls highlights the geographic aspects of the appearance of churches together with



Figure III

- St Stephen's Presbyterian Church,
Bryndwr

"Church halls have done much to develop a
community consciousness "

their nature and landscape effects. The greatest divergence in these respects is to be found in the city region where the largest range of religious professions exists. With some exceptions, the Sectarian churches are much poorer in their appearance and landscape effects than are those of the major denominations⁶. Some Sectarian churches are obviously converted houses, and were it not for the noticeboard and the sign on the door, it would be impossible to distinguish them from any other fourth-grade house in the city; where such informative

placards are lacking the building is indistinguishable as a church. Most churches of this group are single-storied, hemmed in and dwarfed by large commercial buildings, and absorb practically the whole of the site leaving only an alley to the rear. They often reach the street frontage and generally lack lawns, shrubs, trees, flowers or fences to make them attractive. The traditional stone of the city church is replaced by a wide range of materials: timber, brick, rough-caste, concrete block and so on. They give the appearance of being halls rather than churches.

The city churches of the major denominations are mainly of stone construction exhibiting many of the traditional features of church architecture : spires, bell towers, stained glass windows, columns and steps. Their height and setting of lawns and trees, flowers and fences make them of pleasant appearance and distinctive from the adjacent buildings. All have large halls and other amenities, and their appearance is usually an asset to the district.

Beyond the city region the proportion of churches of wood or brick construction increases at the expense of those in stone. They are usually smaller and lack many of the traditional features of church architecture. Even the most unpretentious church may have beneficial effect on the landscape if it is kept in good repair and its grounds neat. But unfortunately this has not been done in many suburban churches. A stone or brick church will last considerably longer than one of wood, and because so many suburban churches were constructed of timber many years ago, their appearance leaves much to be desired. Many of the older suburban churches

endeavour with varying degrees of success to be smaller editions of the city church. Many fail because they have not the proportions, the material or the setting of their originals and the result is detrimental to the surrounding landscape. Other suburban churches have been erected without reference to either traditional church architecture or their immediate environment and are consequently quite out of harmony with the surroundings.

With the changing emphasis that regards a church as a centre for community life rather than simply a place of worship, may be cited the stress on church halls instead of the conventional church. The broader function the church hall seeks to perform is shown in the absence of stone and spire, in the movable seating and furniture of worship, and in the harmony which exists between it and the surrounding buildings. Whereas the suburban church resembles a hall in many cases, the church hall has a close affinity with neighbouring houses.

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This study of churches in Metropolitan Christchurch represents an aspect of urban geography that has previously received but passing reference. It is hoped that this thesis may stimulate interest in the field and provide some indications of the lines along which further studies could well develop.

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CHAPTER NOTES

Chapter One

1 There is little source material concerning the local parish church. Most available material in written form is given on a national or regional basis. However, statistics relating to parishes are contained in the annual publications that follow the national or regional meetings of the major denominations. The "Proceedings of the General Assembly" (Presbyterian); the "Minutes of the Annual Conference" (Methodist), and the Diocesan "Proceedings of Synod" (Church of England) provide much information for the geographer. These may be obtained from the theological college libraries or the regional offices of the various denominations.

Further material may be obtained by consulting books on local and regional church history. Some larger parish churches, e.g. Knox Presbyterian Church and St Alban's Methodist Church, have published histories. But the regional histories are generally of greater value to the geographer. Particularly deserving of mention are -

- PARR, Stephen : "Canterbury Pilgrimage : the First Hundred Years of the Church of England in Canterbury, New Zealand" 1951 (i.e. 1952).
- CHAMBERS, W.A. : "Our Yesteryears - 1840-1950 being a Short History of Methodism in Canterbury, New Zealand" - Willis & Aiken, 1950.

Guide books may also prove of some value. But as so little of this source material gives more than a general picture of the geography of churches, the most profitable source at the present juncture in New Zealand would seem to be personal interviews

with and questionnaires sent to parish clergy, and, where possible, investigating records of particular parishes.

- 2 A survey of Tables IX and X shows that much of the content of these statistics is either irrelevant to the geography of churches, or unsuitable in its present form. Much of the information required for such a geographic study can only be obtained by interviews with, and questionnaires presented to the clergy. Only thus can information such as the addresses of communicant members - a prerequisite to analysis of the geographical relation between church and congregation - be acquired.

- 3 This applied to the Roman Catholic and many of the Sectarian Churches as far as this thesis was concerned.

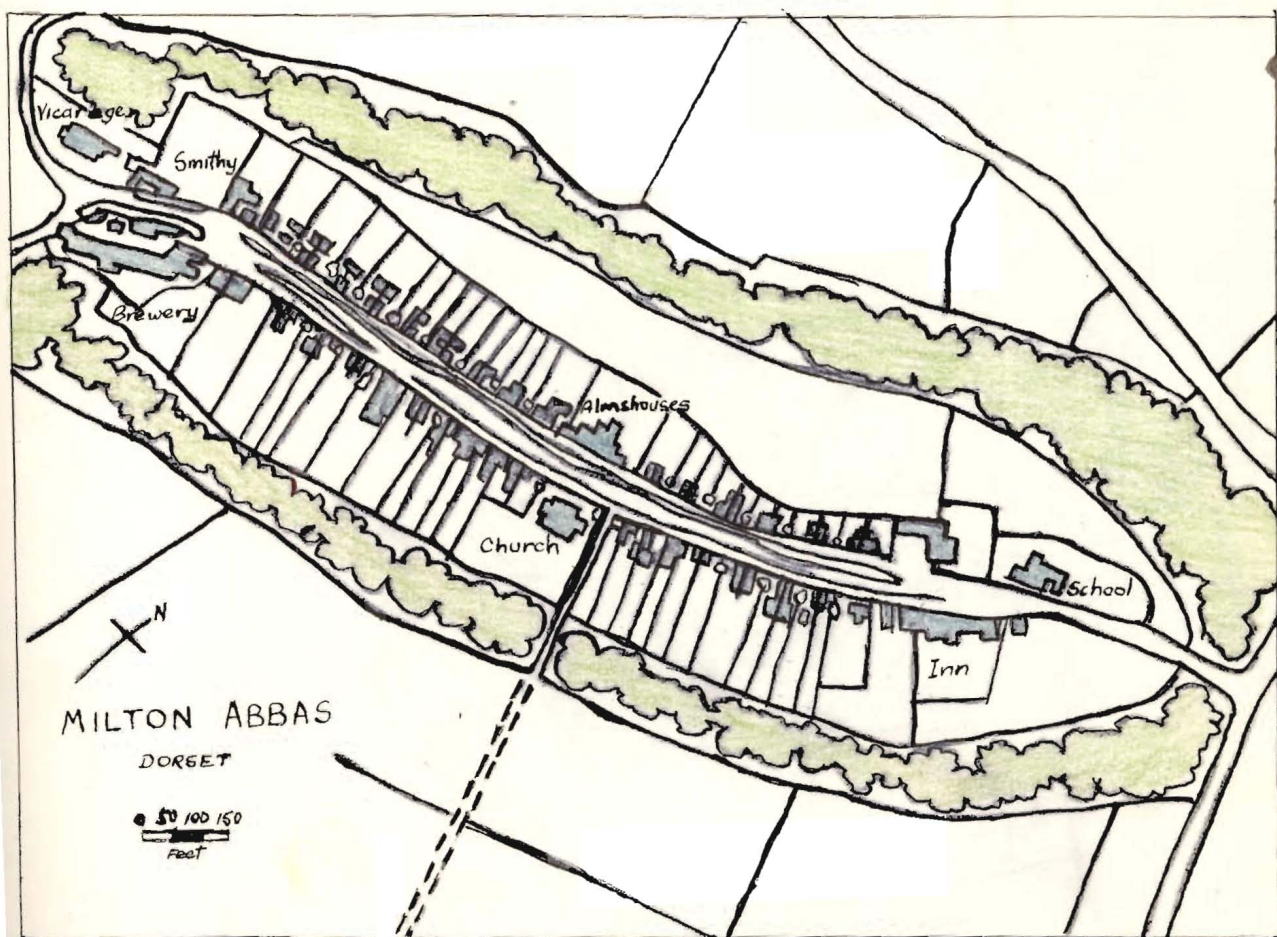
- 4 The Anglican parish church estimates its total membership by the number who communicate on Easter Day, whereas the other major Protestant churches keep a register of their communicant members. This makes comparison difficult, for though all these denominations produce a figure for communicant membership, these are derived from different bases.

- 5 To illustrate the geography of churches in such simple patterns of settlement as the English village provides, brief studies of three typical villages of contrasting pattern will be made.

Milton Abbas, in Dorset (Figure I), is distinctive in being a planned village where standard, semi-detached, square cottages are repeated some

seventeen times on either side of the village street, making some seventy houses in all. The plan of the village is composed by the two principal buildings in its centre, the church and the alms-houses at the most important point of the gently-curving street. The geographic importance of the church is further emphasised by its being the only building set back from the road and the one with the largest grounds. The only pathway that leads through the surrounding belt of trees from the road and breaks the even ribbon pattern of houses is beside the church.

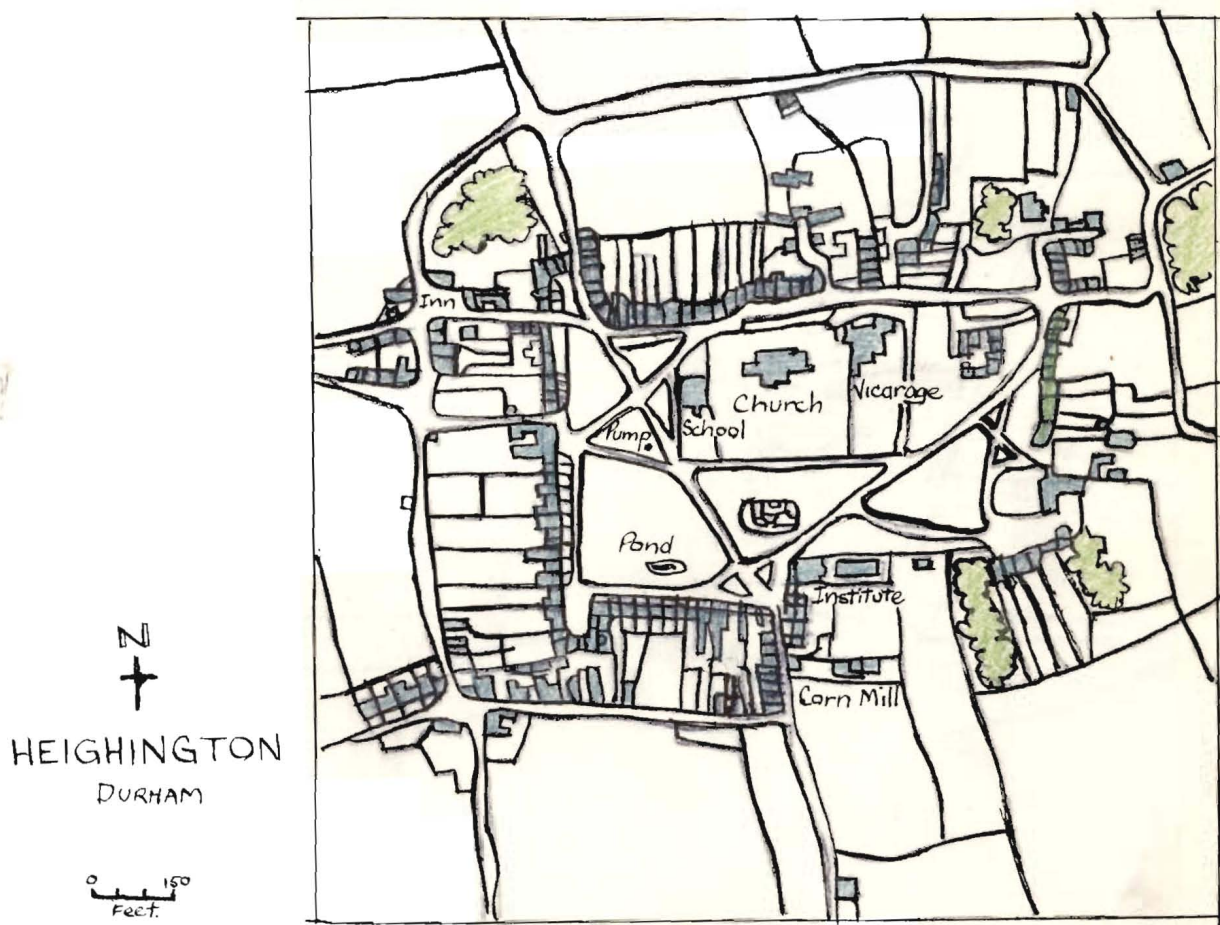
Figure 1



Heighington in County Durham (Figure 2) is an example of a larger village, with a population of over a thousand in almost two hundred houses, which enclose a square of some ten acres. In all probability this village has grown round the grounds of the ecclesiastical establishment, for the church, vicarage and school are on the higher northern part of the square, and until recently were the only buildings on the green.

The other grouped village has been chosen because it is typical of the triangular pattern which a village develops at the junction of three roads. Astbury in Cheshire (Figure 3) consists of some twenty houses adjoining the green on two sides of the triangle.

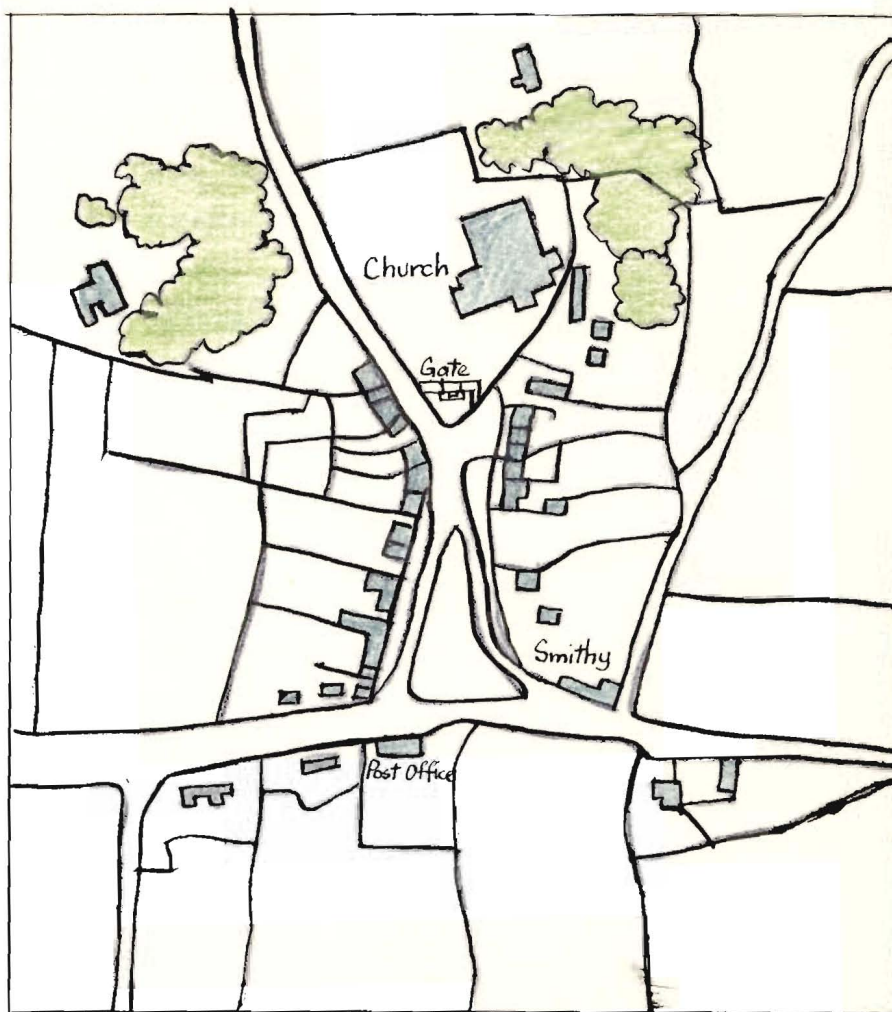
Figure 2



There is a gentle upward slope from the main road which is the base of the triangle, until, at the apex, it culminates in the steps and arched gateway to the churchyard. Thus, from the points of view of both physical and geographical location, the church dominates the village.

The three figures accompanying this discussion of the geography of village churches are taken from Thomas Sharp : "Town and Countryside", figures 3, 5, and 6.

Figure 3



ASTBURY
CHESHIRE

0 150
Feet

6 In the original plan of Christchurch, each of the four projected Anglican churches was to have a school associated with it. While it catered not only for the soul of man but also for his education and health, the church had a much greater influence in determining the pattern of settlement. By 1850 the state had relieved the church of much of the responsibility for medical and welfare work and was soon to assume the major role in education. As a result, people became less dependent on the church, and the pattern of settlement came to be constructed with less reference to the church. Today only one of the four projected schools mentioned above is in existence, i.e. the primary school associated with St Michael and All Angels.

7 Of the 123 churches in the suburbs and dormitory suburbs of Metropolitan Christchurch, only seventeen are less than a quarter of a mile from a park or sports ground.

8 Churches are static features of the landscape and are seldom moved from their original locations. Particularly in the city region of Christchurch a number of examples of churches side by side with heavy or noxious industry may be found, but in each case the industry was located long after the church had been established. There are many reasons why church authorities are unwilling to erect a church close to a factory : the noise and smell of many factories; their proximity often causes a deterioration of neighbouring buildings; a factory often attracts other factories, which may decrease the residential area of the neighbourhood. The attitude of many of the denominations to the consumption of alcohol tends to make them unwilling to locate a church close to an hotel.

9 Church authorities are reluctant to erect churches in locations where there is an absence of people in the immediate neighbourhood, or more particularly an absence of settled community. Hence they will avoid sites adjacent to large open spaces. Quite apart from other considerations that may enter in, they will also tend to avoid locating churches in the vicinity of factories, warehouses, theatres or office blocks, because these represent not living quarters or in any sense a settled community, but a temporary agglomeration of people whose associations are often limited to their form of employment, and who come from widely scattered parts of the urban area. Church authorities may be unwilling to locate a church near a hotel, for though a hotel does attest living quarters, its residents generally change rapidly and (as far as most hotels are concerned) are relatively few in number.

The readiness with which churches are established near to schools, colleges and hospitals, may well have some historical basis in the interest of the Church in health and education over the centuries. Schools and colleges, while they represent neither living quarters nor a settled community, are in the majority of cases (except for some secondary schools) representative of a settled community. Hospitals are living quarters whose residents have a community of interest.

10 For convenience in discussion the religious bodies represented in Metropolitan Christchurch have been grouped in the following categories: -

the Roman Catholics

the Major Protestants - Church of England,
Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist

the Minor Protestants - Salvation Army, Congregational and Lutheran Churches, Church of Christ, Brethren, and Society of Friends

the Sects - Seventh Day Adventist, Mormon, Church of Christ Scientist, Spiritualist, Evangelical Church of Christ, Apostles of God, Assemblies of God, Christadelphian, Theosophists and the Jewish Synagogue.

The distinction between "major" and "minor" Protestant denominations is purely quantitative : the former have over two thousand adherents in the metropolitan area, while the latter have less. When "the major denominations" are referred to, the first two groups mentioned above, i.e. the Roman Catholic and the major Protestant denominations, are signified.

A "Sect" is defined as a Protestant denomination which is not a member of the National Council of Churches. For the purposes of this thesis the Jewish synagogue will be included with the Sectarian Churches. (A glance at Saturday's "Star Sun" shows that there are more religious groups advertising their Sunday services than there are those possessing their own church. Some city halls are used by various sects for worship, but as this is merely a subsidiary function of these buildings, the fact of such meetings will be mentioned and attention focused only on those denominations owning their places of worship.)

11 This factor of changes in the tributary regions of churches parallel to the growth of the urban area, is especially noticeable with the city churches of the major denominations, and this whole matter will be discussed later in some detail.

12 It may be argued that a discussion involving denominations as such has no place in geography. Yet

if it is legitimate to regard a comparison of the coverage that various chain grocery stores evince in an urban area, as coming within the scope of geography, then a survey of the coverage that various religious bodies have in an urban area also has a part. This is not necessarily to set any one denomination over against any other but to analyse the number, adequacy and distribution of churches of each denomination.

Chapter Two

- 1 Papanui provides a very good example of this nucleation of churches round a suburban centre. There are four churches within a hundred yards of this centre with its shops and public buildings (post office, hotel, theatre and railway station) and the nearest church to any of these four is over a mile distant. Other examples may be found in New Brighton and Upper Riccarton.

- 2 It would be difficult to suggest any definite distances for such location because of the great variation in the number of churches in the urban area that the different denominations support and consequently the difference in area that each church is expected to serve. The Baptists employ the following principles in determining the location of their churches:

The Baptists devised this principle as a practical expedient for they have no parish or circuit system as employed by the other major denominations. The distances they suggest are based on investigations made in their churches concerning the average distance that people in the suburbs are willing to travel to worship. Obviously the distances will vary to some extent depending on transport and other factors. The interesting fact is that an analysis of the location of churches of the other major denominations in terms of their parishes reveals a striking similarity in the proportionate distances employed. It seems reasonable, therefore, at least for the metropolitan area of Christchurch, that these proportions should be retained as a practical measure in the determination of church location. Taking the distance between the church and the city boundary of the tributary region as unity, the distance between the church and the "sides" of the parish should be three times as great, and that between the church and the outer limits of the parish six times as great.

- 3 A comparison of figure 7, the coverage of the urban area by the Church of England, with figures 9 to 11, the coverage of other major denominations, reveals the fact that the more churches a denomination possesses in the urban area, the greater will be the possibility of an adequate coverage. With thirty-eight churches - eight more than the Methodists, the denomination with the next greatest number of churches in the metropolitan district - there is scope for the Anglicans to have a greater portion of the urban area within

the radius of, say, a quarter of a mile distant from a church. Clearly there is almost no-one in Christchurch who lives more than three-quarters of a mile from an Anglican church. The greatest degree of overlap is in the city : only here are churches located within half a mile of each other. In the suburbs most people live less than half a mile from an Anglican church, yet there are considerable areas of settlement beyond the half-mile radius. It is impossible on such a circular analysis not to have small areas beyond a certain distance when only a slight overlap occurs. However, for our purposes such small areas may be ignored as insignificant; our concern is to gain an overall picture and only large areas beyond the given distance are important, e.g. the city sides of Papanui, Woolston and Shirley in this case. There are no glaring instances of excessive overlap and no large unserved areas. In terms of the number of churches it possesses, the Church of England has an adequate and well-balanced coverage of the urban area.

- 4 With thirty churches in the urban area, the Methodists have the next-best opportunity for an adequate coverage. As with the Anglicans, it is only in the city that two Methodist churches are located within half a mile of each other. From an analysis of figure 8 it appears that there is too great a concentration of Methodist churches in the north-eastern sector at the expense of the south-east, west and north-west. In these districts on the city sides of Papanui, Upper Riccarton and Opawa, there are considerable areas of settlement further than three-quarters of a mile from any Methodist church. Also Methodism is not catering for many

of the new housing areas, e.g. Hoon Hay, St Albans extension, Bryndwr, Burwood, Mt Pleasant and Hillsborough in the sense that there is no church of this denomination within three-quarters of a mile of these districts. What was said earlier about people being willing to travel up to a mile on the city side of their homes to attend worship still holds, but it is obvious that the nearer to the mile limit settlement occurs, the more will be the exceptions to this rule. Recent development has been so rapid, that in many of these districts the mile limit is now considerably exceeded. Therefore, in terms of the number of churches in the urban area that the Methodists possess, it must be concluded that church location has not always been as effective as was possible to provide the most satisfactory coverage of the urban area.

- 5 Presbyterianism in Christchurch is represented by nineteen churches, with two in the process of erection. Their distribution reflects a mixture of satisfactory locations for coverage of sections of the urban area and some unbalanced locations in other areas. The city churches are well located relative to each other with no overlap of quarter mile radii as was noted with Anglican and Methodist city churches. If Presbyterians possessed some thirty churches in the metropolitan area, the present distribution of churches in the north, north-east, and east would be very commendable; but as they only possess two-thirds of this number, some alternative arrangement would be preferable. The Presbyterian churches in these districts are almost exactly a mile apart. With this number of churches the most satisfactory distance between

any two to obtain a satisfactory coverage would be about a mile and a half as illustrated by the Presbyterian churches to the west and north-west. Two Presbyterian city churches are so located that about a quarter of the area of their three-quarter mile circuits is open parkland. Further, when having only about twenty churches in the urban area, it would appear a disadvantage to have three separate churches in the dormitory suburbs to the south-east - Sumner, Redcliffs and Mount Pleasant. The location of Presbyterian churches is peculiar among the major denominations in that it is the only one in which the closest churches are not in the city. St David's, Beckenham and St Martin's are slightly over half a mile from each other. Plans for the erection of churches in new housing areas are being fulfilled in Upper Riccarton and North Beach and are in the blue-print stage in Hoon Hay, St Alban's extension and Aranui. Therefore, though the Presbyterian Church is not serving these areas at the moment it will be doing so in the near future. Largely as a result of the unbalanced locations mentioned above, there is a considerable area in the north-west of the city further than three-quarters of a mile from the nearest Presbyterian church, and much of this is beyond the mile limit. This accounts for the large congregations of Knox and some other city and suburban churches. This analysis leads to the conclusion that the distribution of Presbyterian churches in Metropolitan Christchurch is not such as would give them the most adequate coverage (see figure 9).

- 6 Roman Catholicism supports sixteen churches in the urban area (figure 10). On the whole these are located so as to give a reasonably effective

coverage. The proximity of the two St Alban's churches is unfortunate for it means the suburbs of Shirley, Mairehau, Burwood, Opawa, St Martin's and the city sides of Woolston and Linwood are practically unserved. The north, west and south of the urban area are particularly well catered for, but the same cannot be said of the eastern suburbs.

- 7 With only nine churches in the urban area it is impossible for the Baptists to have a really satisfactory coverage of Christchurch. Yet from the study of figure 11, it is clear that in many instances the churches could be otherwise located to provide a better coverage. The Baptist church in North Beach is obviously meant to cater for the three seaside suburbs known collectively as Brighton. However, it is not placed in the settlement of the settlement block, i.e. New Brighton, but to the north; this means that those living in South Brighton have twice the distance to travel. The lack of any church along the entire lengths of the main south-east and north-west highways detracts considerably from a satisfactory coverage of the urban area. Of the actual suburban areas, Papanui, Merivale, Addington, Shirley, Woolston, Cashmere and Upper Riccarton cannot be described as adequately served, while because of the proximity of the Beckenham and Opawa Baptist churches, these and adjacent suburbs are "over-served" by comparison with the remainder of the suburban area.

- 8 The Anglican Cathedral and the three Anglican city churches, St Michael and All Angels', St Luke's and St John the Baptist's form a special group for they are all located on land designated for that purpose in the original plan of the town. Examples

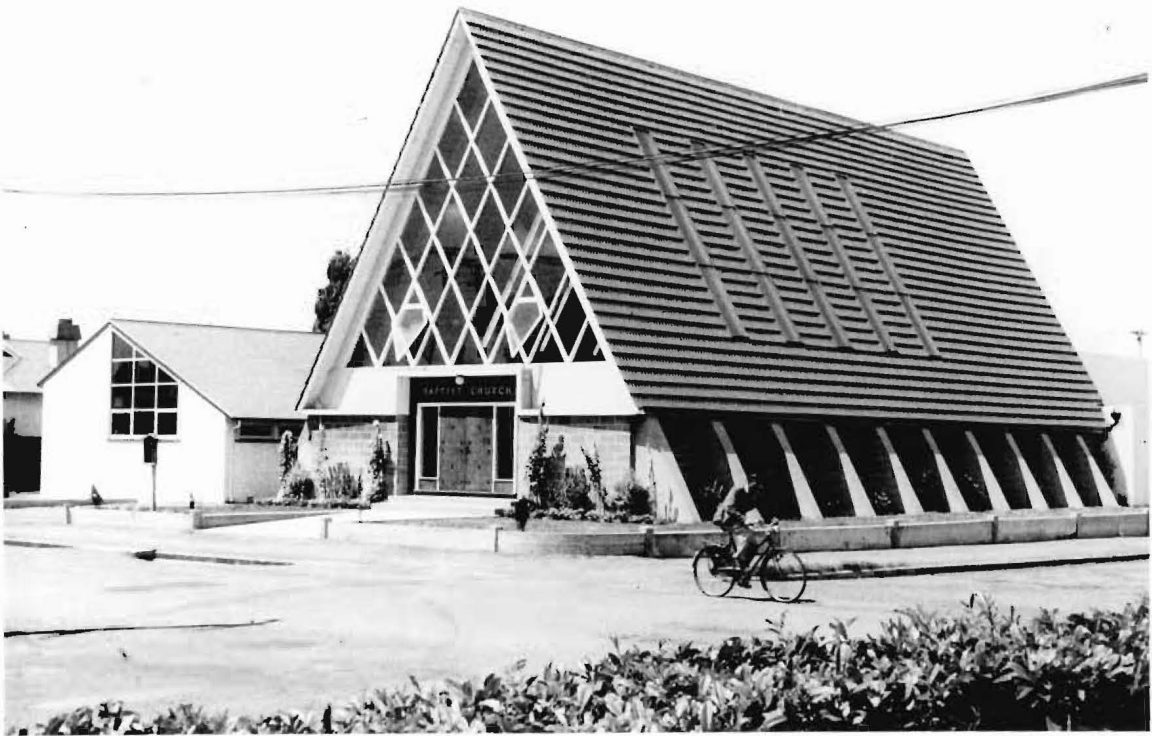


Figure IV

- Opawa Baptist Church -

of churches built on donations of land are St Peter's Presbyterian Church, Woolston, for which land was given by Captain A. Sproul of Lyttelton; St Mary's Church of England, Addington, is built on a block of land given by Henry Sewell, and the land on which St Barnabas' Church of England, Fendalton, stands, was the gift of D. Inwood. St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, which was granted three acres of land on and adjacent to its present site, is the best example of a church in Christchurch receiving a grant of land on application to the government.

- 9 The Church of England has twenty-five parishes in Metropolitan Christchurch; fourteen of these have only one Anglican church, eight have two, two have three and one has four churches (see Table VIII). Similarly with the Methodists, whose circuits contain in one instance but one church and in another nine. The Presbyterians, Roman Catholics and Salvation Army adhere much closer to the concept of one church to one parish. There are nineteen Presbyterian parishes in the metropolitan area, only three of which have two churches, and none have more than two.
- 10 The Presbyterian parish of the dormitory suburbs of Belfast and Styx contains churches in both these settlements, and the Anglican parish of Sumner includes the dormitory suburbs and churches of Sumner, Redcliffs, Mt Pleasant and Heathcote.
- 11 Thus the Presbyterian parish of Woolston includes the dormitory suburb and church of Mount Pleasant.
- 12 St Martin's Anglican church, Spreydon, has St Andrew's church in the new housing area of Hoon Hay included in its parish. St Aidan's Anglican Church in the fast-growing area of Bryndwr is in the parish of St Barnabas, Fendalton, but it will soon be constituted a separate parish.
- 13 As figures 13 and 14 indicate, rivers and railways are frequently adopted as parish boundaries. The Heathcote River forms the northern boundary of the Cashmere parish for both denominations, while the Avon River forms the southern boundary of the Presbyterian parish centred on Knox church.

The southern borders of the Riccarton parishes of both denominations are determined by the Main South Trunk Line, and the south-eastern boundary of the Presbyterian parish at Woolston is the Lyttelton Railway Line. For the six Anglican parishes that touch Hagley Park, the limits of this open area form parts of their boundaries.

- 14 Cashmere, for example, is an entity distinct from any other suburb of Metropolitan Christchurch by virtue of its situation on a hill.

- 15 A comparison of Tables VII and VIII and Figures 13 and 14 reveals the approximate populations of Anglican and Presbyterian parishes in Metropolitan Christchurch, based on the 1951 census (the latest available figures). These reveal the parish of Knox Presbyterian church, containing some 18,700 people to be far and away the parish with the largest population; it has five and a half thousand more than the parish with the next greatest population. All the parishes with populations below 2,500 are in the new housing areas, and it therefore seems probable that if the present rapid growth of the urban area continues, the populations of these parishes should increase until they are on a par with older parishes.

Chapter Three

- 1 "It had been planned that there should be four parish churches, as well as the Cathedral, in Christchurch city, i.e. within the Belts. Saint Michael's was built in 1851, Saint Luke's in 1859, Saint John's in 1864. The fourth, to have been in Cramner Square, where Saint Margaret's College now stands, was never built."

- Stephen Parr:

"Canterbury Pilgrimage" : (Pg.168).

The corner stone of the Cathedral was laid by Bishop Harper on Anniversary Day, December 16th, 1864. It was on December 16th, 1850, that the first four ships arrived in Lyttelton to found the colony, and so fifteen years later Anglicanism was well established in the city region.

- 2 It is only to be expected that the Sectarian churches would be grouped in the city. In most cases their following is so small that more than one church in the metropolitan area is unwarranted. As their parishes are thus virtually the whole of Christchurch, it is natural that they should choose a central site.

- 3 In the older suburbs, the older churches usually represent the major denominations and the newer churches the minor Protestant or Seventh Day Adventist (the largest of the Sectarian Churches and the only one with several churches in the urban area) denominations.

- 4 The following figures indicate the declining population of the city region of Metropolitan Christchurch during the last thirty years:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Population</u>
1926	15,120
1945	15,917
1956	12,279

5 The Church of St Michael and All Angels' is located in the city and much of its parish is occupied by the southern industrial district. It therefore tends to draw a considerable proportion of its members from beyond its parish boundaries. This tendency is magnified, however, by the distinctive liturgy that the church employs. It is well-known as the "high" Anglican church of Christchurch, and therefore attracts to its fellowship Anglicans to whom this form of worship appeals, even though they may live far beyond its parish. Like the Cathedral - though for different reasons - it may be said to embrace the whole of the urban area as its parish. St Michael's is further distinguished by having the largest primary day school of any Anglican parish in the urban area. Such an emphasis is placed on this day school that the traditional Sunday School and Bible Class are excluded.

Two obvious reasons may be advanced for the "specialisation" in marriages by St John the Baptist's Anglican Church. Firstly, its central position in the metropolitan area has obvious advantages when a wedding is being considered, especially if the two parties live in widely separated suburban districts. Secondly, St John's is one of the most attractive churches in Christchurch. For the year ending 31st March 1954, St John's was host to ninety-one marriages, and the nearest approach to this was fifty-one in St Mary's, Merivale.

St Saviour's Anglican Church, Lyttelton West, was erected in 1885 with the object of being a seamen's church and its vicar chaplain to seamen. It fulfilled this function officially until 1946 when its endowment terminated, and because of the tradition that has arisen, fulfills it in practice to the present.

Some of the ways in which the Anglican Cathedral is distinctive have already been shown, but it remains to indicate the ways in which it is a specialist church. Negatively, this may be illustrated by the absence of such organisations as Sunday School and Bible Class, and of the traditional functions of baptisms, marriages and burials. The large number of confirmations - ninety six in 1953 - shows positively the manner of its specialisation. This figure was far higher than that of any other Anglican church in the urban area except St Mary's, Merivale (one hundred and two).

- 6 This applies to the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches. Four parish churches of the former (St Michael and All Angels' in the city, St Matthew's, St Alban's, Holy Trinity, Avonside and St Mark's, Opawa) and ten of the latter denomination have primary schools associated with them.
- 7 The Roman Catholic, Anglican and Presbyterian Churches support secondary schools in Christchurch. Such names as Christ's College, St Andrew's and St Bede's, St Margaret's and Rangi Ruru are household names far beyond the limits of the metropolitan area.
- 8 University hostels are operated by the Church of England - Christchurch College and Bishop Julius

Hostel - and by the Roman Catholic Church - Rosary House and Rochester Hall.

- 9 The Salvation Army and the Seventh Day Adventists as well as the Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist and Roman Catholic Churches have district offices in the city.
- 10 The Methodist Deaconess House trains women for deaconess work and the institution acts as a hostel for Teachers' College and university students. One of the Anglican Church's two theological colleges in New Zealand is at Christchurch College, which also acts as a residential hostel for students at the University of Canterbury. Both of these training centres are in the city region, but the Roman Catholic seminary is in the Riccarton suburb.
- 11 This is particularly true of the Church of England, which, besides owning the most land in the metropolitan area, owns a disproportionately large part of the city region.

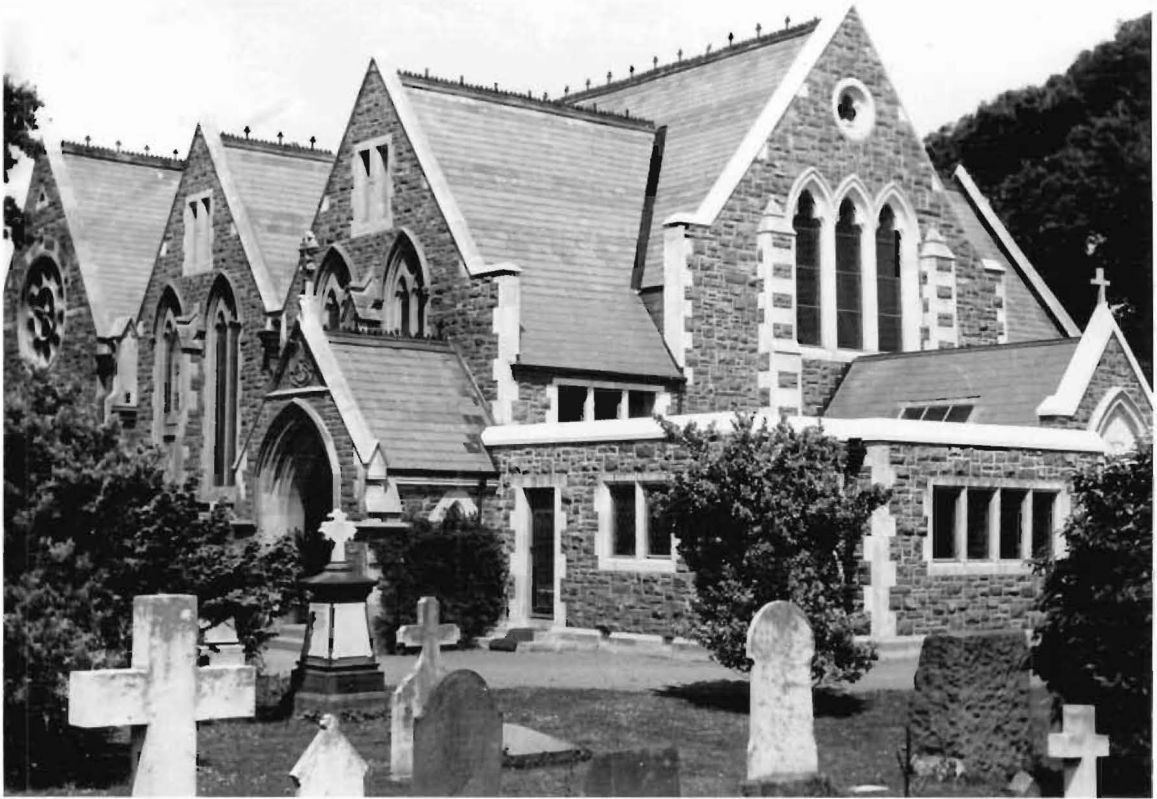


Figure V - Holy Trinity Anglican Church,
Avonside -

"Most (cemeteries) belong to the Church
of England and are associated with par-
ish churches."

Chapter Four

- 1 St Paul's Presbyterian and Oxford Terrace Baptist churches provide examples of city churches that draw most of their regular congregations from beyond their parishes (figures 15 and 16). In the former only 23% of the communicant members live within the parish. Two-thirds of the families connected with St Paul's live more than a mile from the church and a third more than two miles away. A comparison of figures 18 and 12 suggests why such a proportion of St Paul's congregation is drawn from the north-west section of the urban area. In this district there is a large area of settlement some distance from the nearest Presbyterian church.

The Baptists do not employ a parish system, so comparisons are limited. Yet in terms of the average distance members travel to Oxford Terrace Baptist Church, the figures are even greater than those of St Paul's. Over 80% of the adherents live more than a mile from the church and more than a third live beyond a two mile radius. A comparison of these figures with those of twenty-five years ago reveals a marked increase in the average distance the members of these congregations travel to worship.

- 2 Declining city population has not affected the tributary regions of Anglican city churches to the same extent as it has those of the other major denominations. The Anglican Cathedral, because of its purpose, has no defined parish and draws its congregation from throughout the urban area. Also, the Anglicans have more parish churches than do any of the other major denominations and hence there is less tendency for their adherents to journey into the city for worship. The Presbyterian, Methodist

and Baptist churches, lacking cathedrals, have tended to place many of the functions of cathedrals on their city churches.

- 3 Both light and heavy industry are moving out from the city region into some of the suburbs, and in these areas where a slight decline in population may be expected, the balance is often maintained by workers moving into the district to be near their work. In a situation such as this, the Church is confronted not so much by an increasing population as by a changing one.
- 4 "The main arterial road is the great severing agent in the town. Here then is the means of giving definition. The sensible way to plan a town is to arrange the main arteries so that they pass by the neighbourhood, running between one neighbourhood and the next ... There should not be any house frontages with direct access on to the artery. Even housing behind service roads is unsatisfactory. So it follows that ideally there should be open spaces alongside these roads : and in fact playing fields and other open spaces may very well be arranged there the open space buffer between adjoining neighbourhoods will declare and define their separate identities within the greater whole which is the town." - Thomas Sharp : "Town Planning", (Pp. 73 - 4).

- 5 This raises problems of accommodation at worship for some suburban churches which were not built to cater for such large numbers. Thus the Presbyterian churches at Riccarton, Papanui and St Albans must hold two services each Sunday morning to cater for the demand.

6 There are, however, city churches of some of the major denominations that detract from the general appearance of their neighbourhood while some Sectarian churches do much to enhance the appearance of their district, as the accompanying figures illustrate. Yet the generalisation that major denominational churches in the city are more beneficial in their landscape effects than those of the Sects still contains a large measure of truth.

**TABLE I : LOCATION of CHURCHES in METROPOLITAN
CHRISTCHURCH**

Location	Denomination Church of England	Roman Catholic	Methodist	Presbyterian	Baptist	Salvation Army	Brethren	Seventh Day Adventist	Other	Total
<u>Radial Highways</u>										
Dyers Pass - Colombo		1	2	2	1				2	8
Colombo - Cranford	1		1	1		1				4
Riccarton - Main South	2	1	1	1						5
Lincoln	1		1							2
Papanui - Main North - Harewood	2	1	2	2						7
Ferry - Main	1	1	1	1					1	5
Worcester - Buckleys - Pages	1							1		2
Hills - Shirley - New Brighton	2		1							3
Waltham - Wilsons - - Opawa	2		1				1			4
Fendalton	1									1
TOTAL	13	4	10	7	1	1	1	1	3	41
<u>Main Crossroads</u>										
Barrington	1		1	1		1				4
Hoon Hay	1	1								2
Clarence-Strowan			1							1
Clyde										
Ilam-Aorangi				1	1					2
Heaton-Innes	1	1								2
Edgeware			1							1
Linwood				1	1					2
Aldwins-Ensors										
TOTAL	3	2	3	3	2	1				14
GRAND TOTAL	16	6	13	10	3	2	1	1	3	55

TABLE IICITY CHURCHES

Denomination	Central Business District	"Cultural" Area	Apartment Area	Southern Industrial District	Total
Church of England	2		1	1	4
Methodist		1	2	1	4
Presbyterian	1		1	1	3
Baptist			1		1
Roman Catholic			1	1	2
Congregational	1				1
Church of Christ				1	1
Salvation Army		1			1
Lutheran		1			1
Brethren	1		1		2
Society of Friends			1		1
Seventh Day Adventist				1	1
Evangelistic Church of Christ				1	1
Mormons			1		1
Church of Christ Scientist		1			1
Theosophists			1		1
Spiritualists			1		1
Synagogue (Jewish)		1			1
Christadelphian				1	1
Apostles of God			1		1
TOTAL	5	5	12	8	30

TABLE III

SUBURBAN CHURCHES

Suburb	Denomination										Total	
	Church of England	Methodist	Roman Catholic	Presbyterian	Baptist	Salvation Army	Congregational	Church of Christ	Brethren	Seventh Day Adventist		Assemblies of God
Addington	1	1	1									3
Aranui	1									1		2
Avonside	2											2
Beckenham	1	1	1		1			1				5
Bryndwr			1		1				1			3
Burwood	1											1
Cashmere	1	1		1								3
Dallington			1									1
Elmwood	1											1
Fendalton	1	1										2
Linwood	1	1		1	1		1		1			6
Merivale	1	1										2
Opawa	1	1			1							3
Papanui	1	1	1	1						1		5
Phillipstown	1					1						2
Riccarton	2	1	1	1	1				1			7
Richmond		1		1								2
St Albans	2	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1		10
St Martins	1			1								2
Shirley	1	1										2
Somerfield		1										1
Spreydon	2	1		1	1	1						6
Sydenham	1	1	1	1		1					1	6
Upper Riccarton	1	1										2
Wainoni		1										1
Waltham									1			1
Woolston	1	1	1	1								4
TOTAL	25	18	9	10	7	4	1	2	5	3	1	85

TABLE IVCHURCHES in the NEW HOUSING AREAS

New Housing Area	Denomination	Church of England	Presbyterian	Roman Catholic	Methodist	Baptist	Seventh Day Adventist	Total
Aranui							1	1
Belfast-Styx				1				1
Bryndwr		1	1					2
Burwood								
Dallington- Wainoni								
Fendalton								
Hillsborough								
Hoon Hay		1		1				2
Hornby					1	1		2
Mairehau			1		1			2
North Beach			1					1
Papanui								
St Albans								
South Shore								
Upper Riccarton - Sockburn			1	1				2
TOTAL		2	4	2	3	1	1	13

TABLE V**CHURCHES in DORMITORY SUBURBS**

Dormitory Suburb	Denomination							Total
	Church of England	Methodist	Presbyterian	Roman Catholic	Salvation Army	Baptist	Brethren	
<u>Seaside:</u>								
North Beach	1	1	1			1		4
New Brighton	1	1	1	1	1		1	6
South Brighton	1	1						2
Sumner	1	1	1	1	1			5
Redcliffs	1	1	1					3
Mount Pleasant	1		1					2
Total	6	5	5	2	2	1	1	22
<u>Industrial:</u>								
Lyttelton	2	1	1	1	1			6
Heathcote	1	1						2
Hornby	1	1	1			1		4
Islington								
Belfast	1	1	1	1				4
Total	5	4	3	2	1	1		16
GRAND TOTAL	11	9	8	4	3	2	1	38

TABLE VIRURAL CHURCHES

in

METROPOLITAN CHRISTCHURCH

Denomination	Church of England	Methodist	Roman Catholic	Other	Total
Marshlands	1	1	1		3
Harewood	1	1			2
Masham		1			1
Halswell	1		1		2
TOTAL	3	3	2		8

TABLE VII

APPROXIMATE POPULATIONS

in

PRESBYTERIAN PARISHES

St Paul's	13100
St Andrew's	10300
Knox	18700
St David's	11600
St Gile's	6400
St Albans	8500
St Stephen's	1500
Cashmere	2600
St George's	9200
St Columba	7600
St Peter's	8900
St Ninian's	8000
St James'	9100
St Martin's	5000
St Enoch's	7700
Sumner	3200
Lyttelton	2600
St Aiden's	1900
Belfast - Styx	2300
Hornby	9700

TABLE VIII**APPROXIMATE POPULATIONS of CHURCH of ENGLAND PARISHES**

St Johns, City	3700
St Lukes, City	6000
St Michaels, City	4400
St Marys, Merivale	6800
{ St Barnabas, Fendalton	5100
{ St Thomas	
{ St Aidans	
{ St Saviours, Sydenham	1200
{ St Phillips	
St Nicholas	5020
{ St Martins, Spreydon	1700
{ St Andrews	
{ St Marks, Opawa	6400
{ St Annes	
St Johns, Woolston	4900
St Augustines, Cashmere	2600
{ St Matthews, St Albans	10300
{ St Davids	
{ St James, Lower Riccarton	7800
{ St Hildas	
St Peters, Upper Riccarton	2700
{ St Faiths, New Brighton	7000
{ St Lukes	
{ St Andrews	
{ St Chads, Linwood	5700
{ St Ambrose	
St Stephens, Shirley	5300
St Marys, Addington	6300
{ St Pauls, Papanui	7300
{ St Silas	
Church of the Good Shepherd, Phillipstown	5000
{ Holy Trinity, Avonside	8800
{ St Francis	
All Saints, Burwood	1600
{ All Saints, Sumner	4300
{ St Marys	
{ St Andrews	
{ Church of the Ascension	
St Columba, Hornby	9700
Most Holy Trinity, Lyttelton	2600
St Davids, Belfast	2300

TABLE IX

SUMMARY of RETURNS from the PRESBYTERY of CHRISTCHURCH (1956)

Parish	Churches	Other Preaching Places	Persons under Pastoral Care	Attendance at Public Worship	Received (a)	(b)	Disjoined (a)	(b)	Roll of Membership	Baptisms	Bible Class	Sunday School	Minister
Cashmere Hills	1		390	265	15	13	20	6	218	12	44	78	Rev. G. D. Falloon
Knox	1		1770	700	40	69	72	54	673	38	191	301	Rev. M. W. Wilson
St Albans	1		1550	470	12	27	30	16	366	43	116	234	Rev. B. Nottage
St Andrews	1		1100	520	10	33	32	6	438	40	50	117	Rev. R. M. Rodgers
St Columba	2		1800	500	20	33	18	5	331	47	84	300	Rev. A. W. Baxter
St Davids	1		1200	300	1	7	16	7	238	20	57	149	Rev. K. Warren
St Georges	1		800	348	2	13	6	27	168	22	65	270	Rev. J. Carter
St Giles	1		1850	425	7	16	21	4	257	35	84	250	Rev. W. M. Hendrie
St Martins	1		800	200		30	13	6	154	10	43	120	Rev. C. R. Sprackett
St Ninians	1		2100	650	22	25	16	13	389	34	154	288	Rev. R. J. Griffiths
St Pauls	1		1400	630	16	62	51	34	567	45	67	127	Rev. S. C. Francis
St Peters	2		1800	360	3	10	10	33	120	32	47	307	Rev. F. E. Slattery
St Stephens	1		1000	124	16	17	4	1	75	23	14	150	Rev. D. G. Shaw
Spreydon	1	1	850	250	5	11	22	8	163	23	52	193	Rev. W. vanWyngen
Lyttelton	1	2	600	180	3	2	2		67	12	35	77	Rev. D. K. Boyd
Belfast-Styx	2		500	130		5	5	3	66	5	51	105	Mr A. P. Beaumont
Hornby	1		1000	140	3	5	6	1	64	35	43	162	Rev. J. Sands
New Brighton	1	1	1061	150	5	5	13	2	97	21	20	136	Rev. D. C. Spencer
Sumner	2		400	210		6	10	4	110	11	20	60	Rev. A. T. McNaughton

Received (a) by Profession of Faith
(b) by Certificate

Disjoined (a) by Certificate
(b) by Death

TABLE X

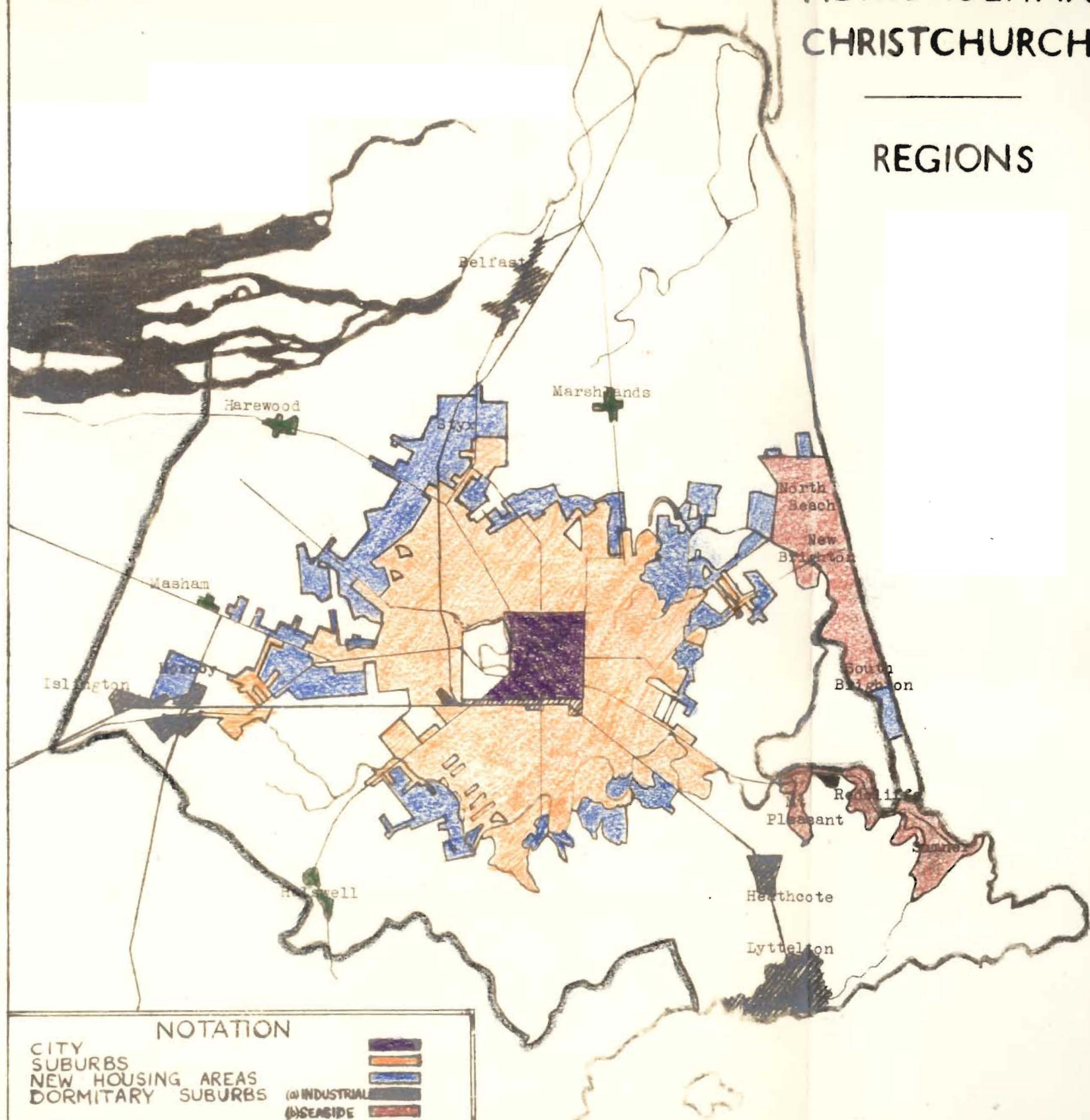
SUMMARY of the RETURNS from the PARISHES and PAROCHIAL
DISTRICTS of the DIOCESE of CHRISTCHURCH
as at 31 MARCH 1954

Parish or Parochial District	No. of Churches	No. of Seats	No. of Vicarages	No. of Communicants on Easter Sunday 1953
Addington	1	400	1	140
Avonside	2	450	1	379
Belfast (inc Burwood)	3	272	2	329
Cashmere Hills	1	140	1	318
City (a) Cathedral	1	1000	-	448
City (b) St Michaels	1	600	1	148
City (c) St Lukes	1	450	1	170
City (d) St Johns	1	385	1	188
Fendalton	3	485	2	641
Linwood	2	190	1	241
Lyttelton	1	360	1	133
Merivale	1	430	1	691
New Brighton	3	328	1	242
Opawa - St Martins	2	285	1	348
Papanui	3	450	1	322
Phillipstown	1	218	1	128
Riccarton, Lower	1	270	1	285
Riccarton, Upper	2	400	1	357
St Albans	3	375	1	376
Shirley	1	350	1	309
Spreydon	2	231	1	115
Sumner - Heathcote	4	380	1	336
Sydenham	3	710	2	457
Woolston	2	186	1	130
TOTAL	45	9345	26	7231

FIGURE 4

METROPOLITAN CHRISTCHURCH

REGIONS



Cultural Area	Yellow
Apartment House	Red
Southern Industri	Brown
Gardens and Parks	Green

Bealey Avenue

Holleston Ave.

Deans

Avenue

Fitzgerald

Avenue

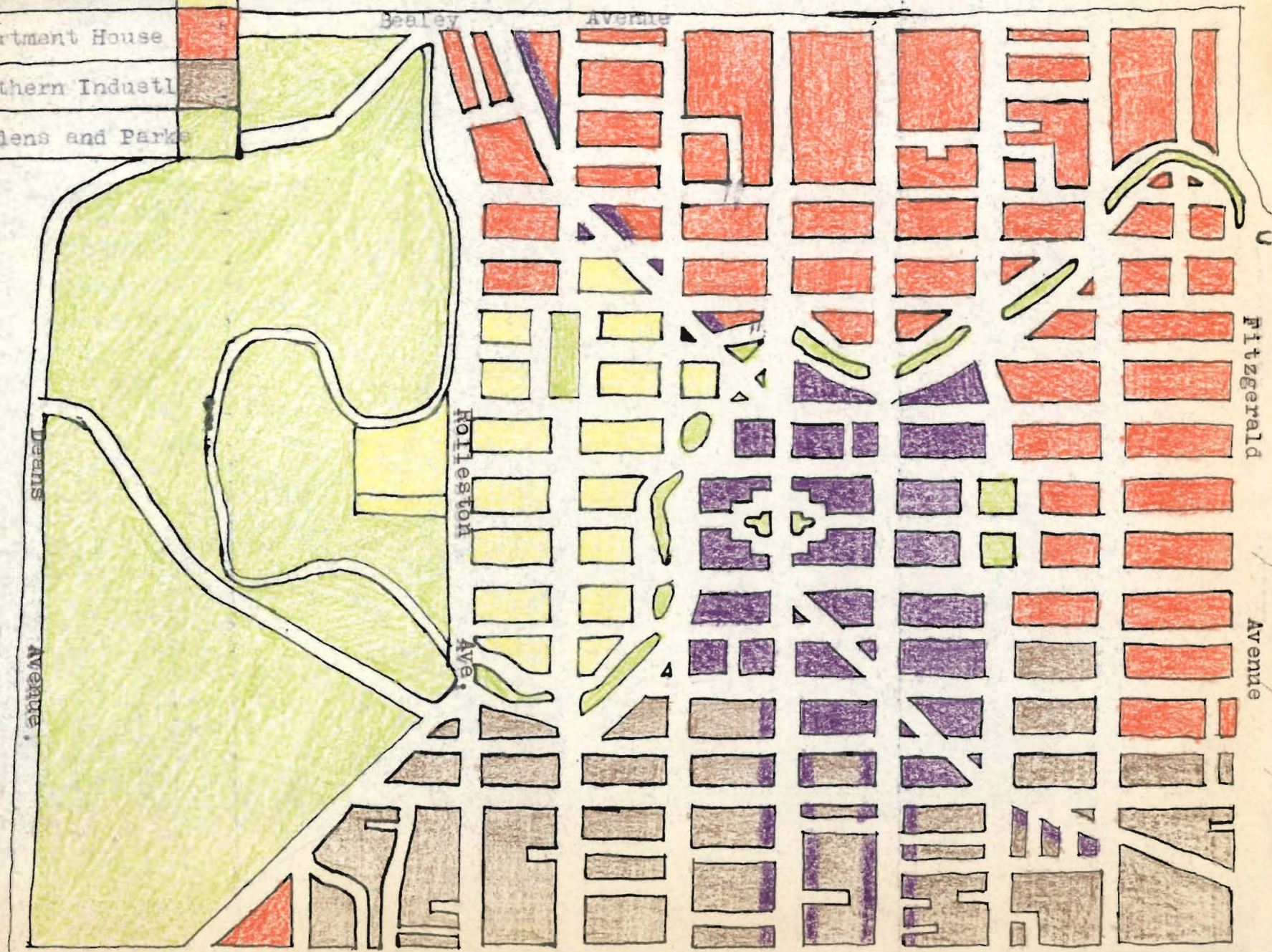


FIGURE 6

THE ASSOCIATION RESERVES AT LYMPHINGTON

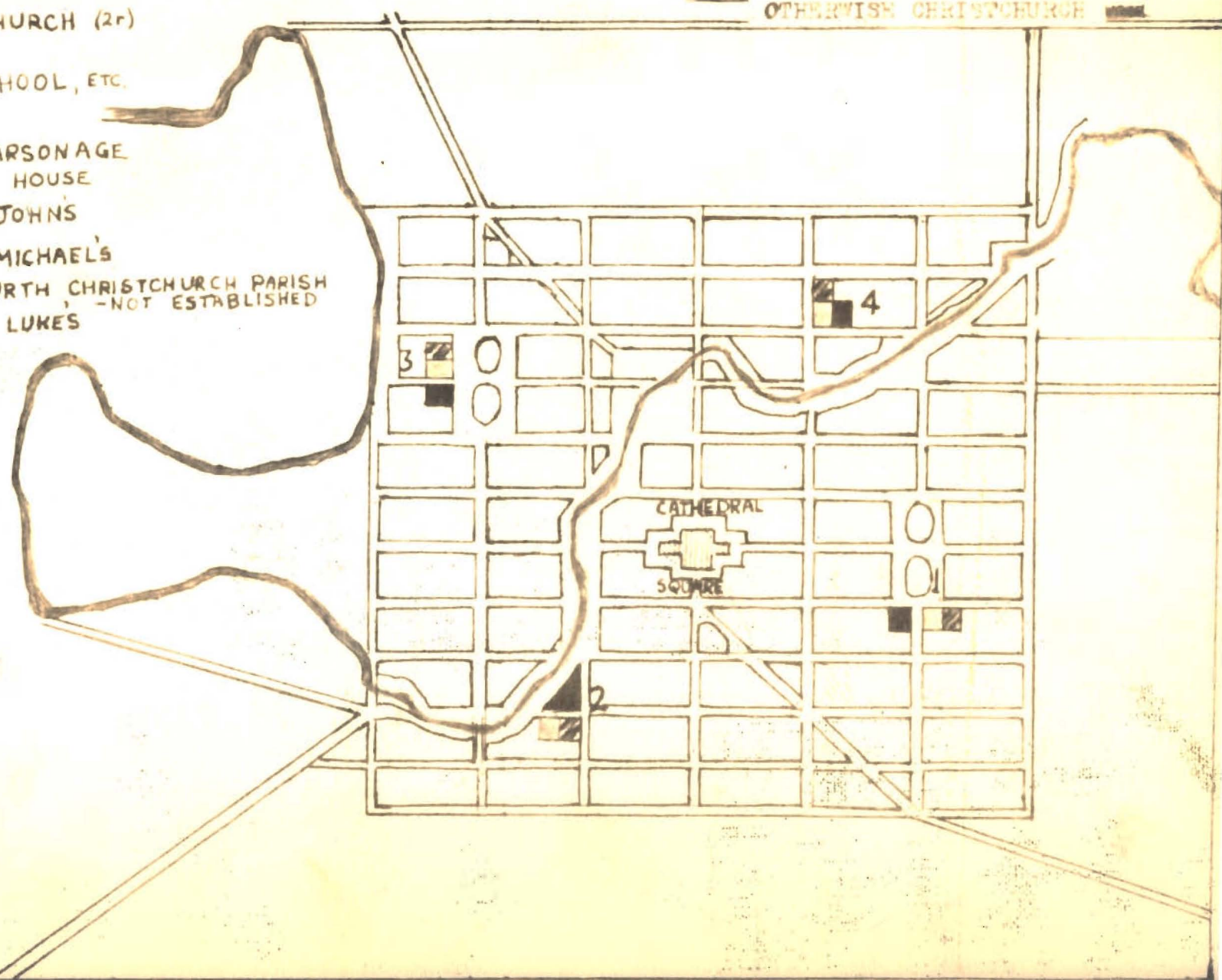
OTHERWISE CHRISTCHURCH

CHURCH (2r)

SCHOOL, ETC.

PARSONAGE
HOUSE

- 1 ST JOHNS
- 2 ST MICHAEL'S
- 3 FOURTH CHRISTCHURCH PARISH
-NOT ESTABLISHED
- 4 ST LUKES

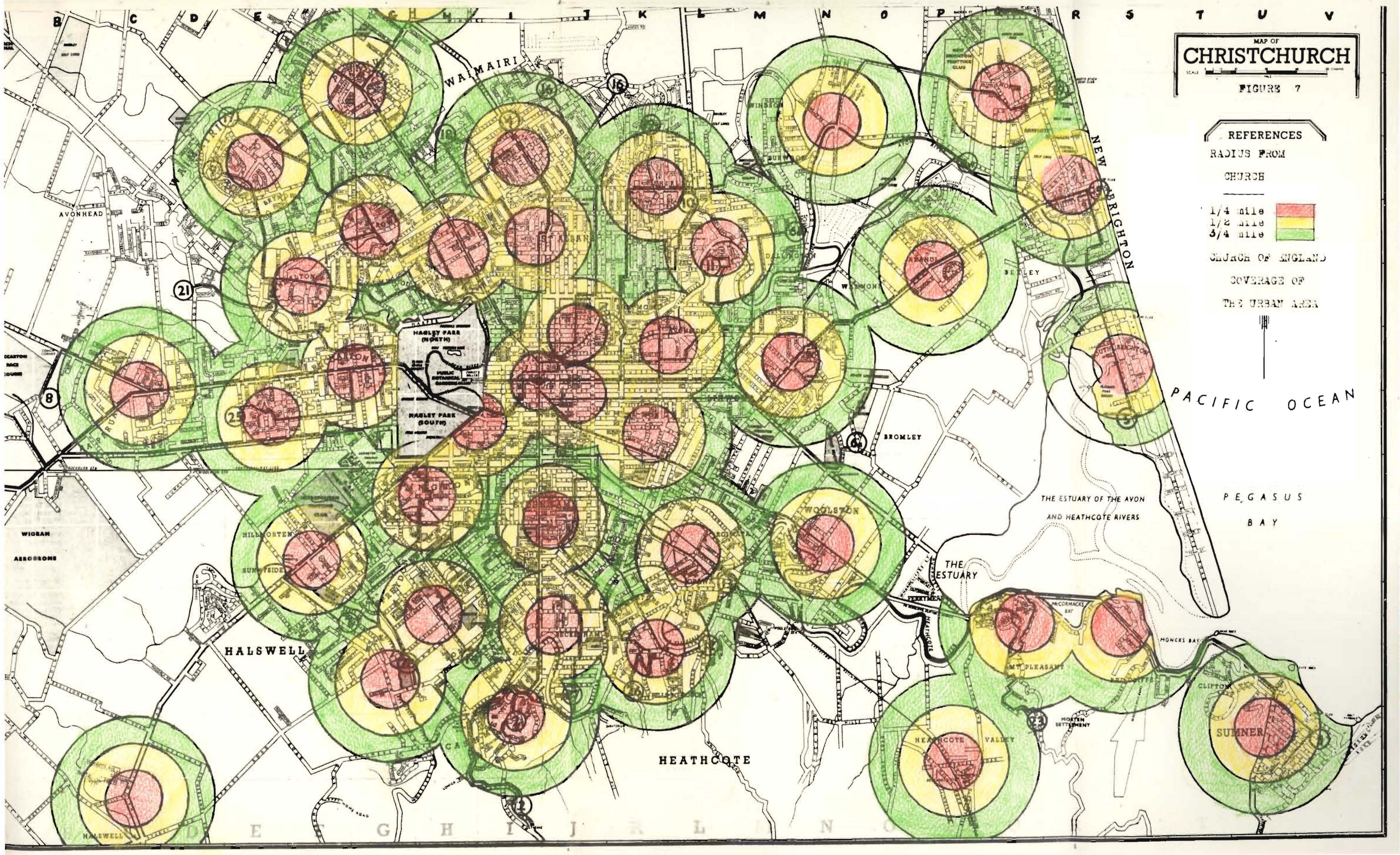


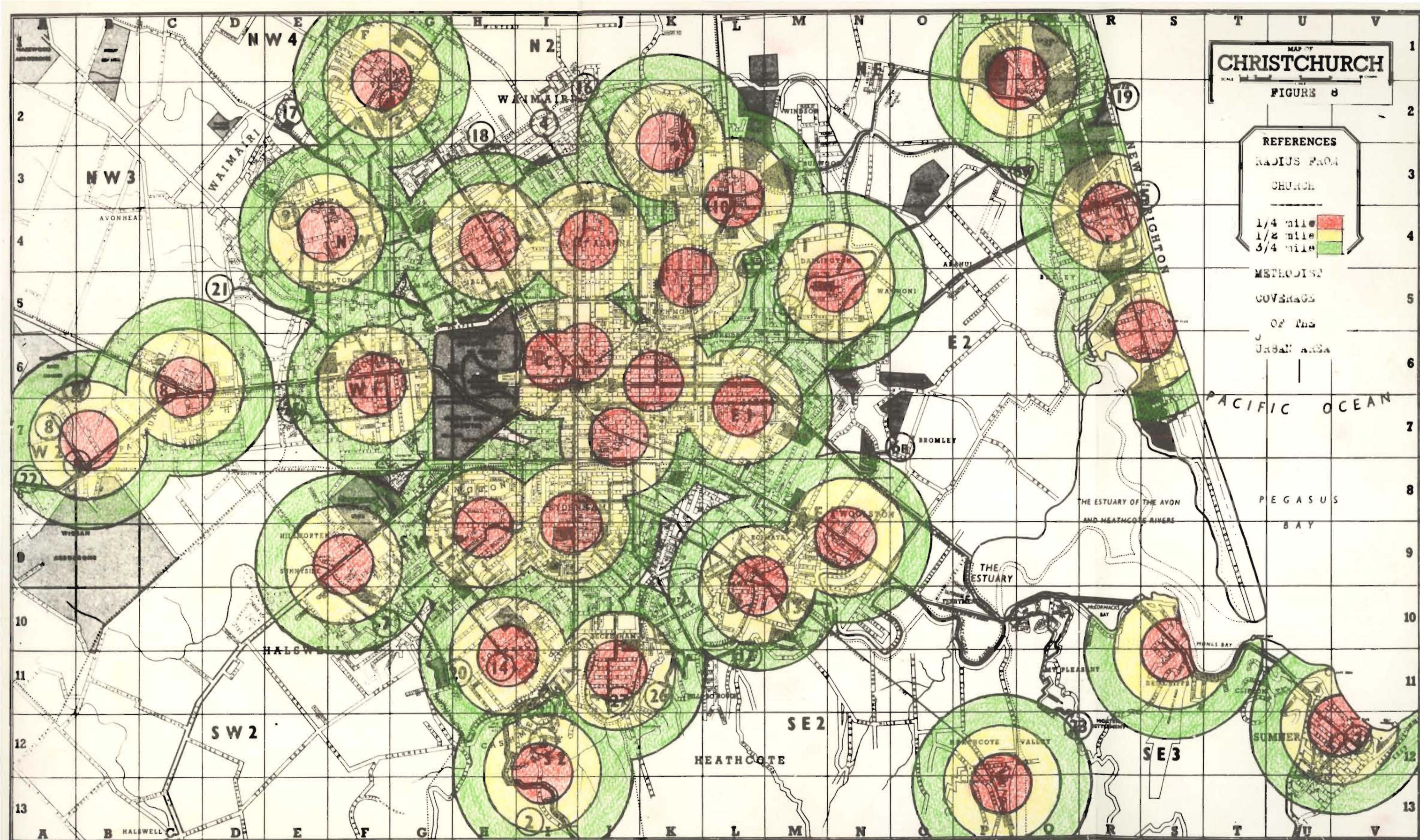
MAP OF
CHRISTCHURCH
SCALE 1:50,000
FIGURE 7

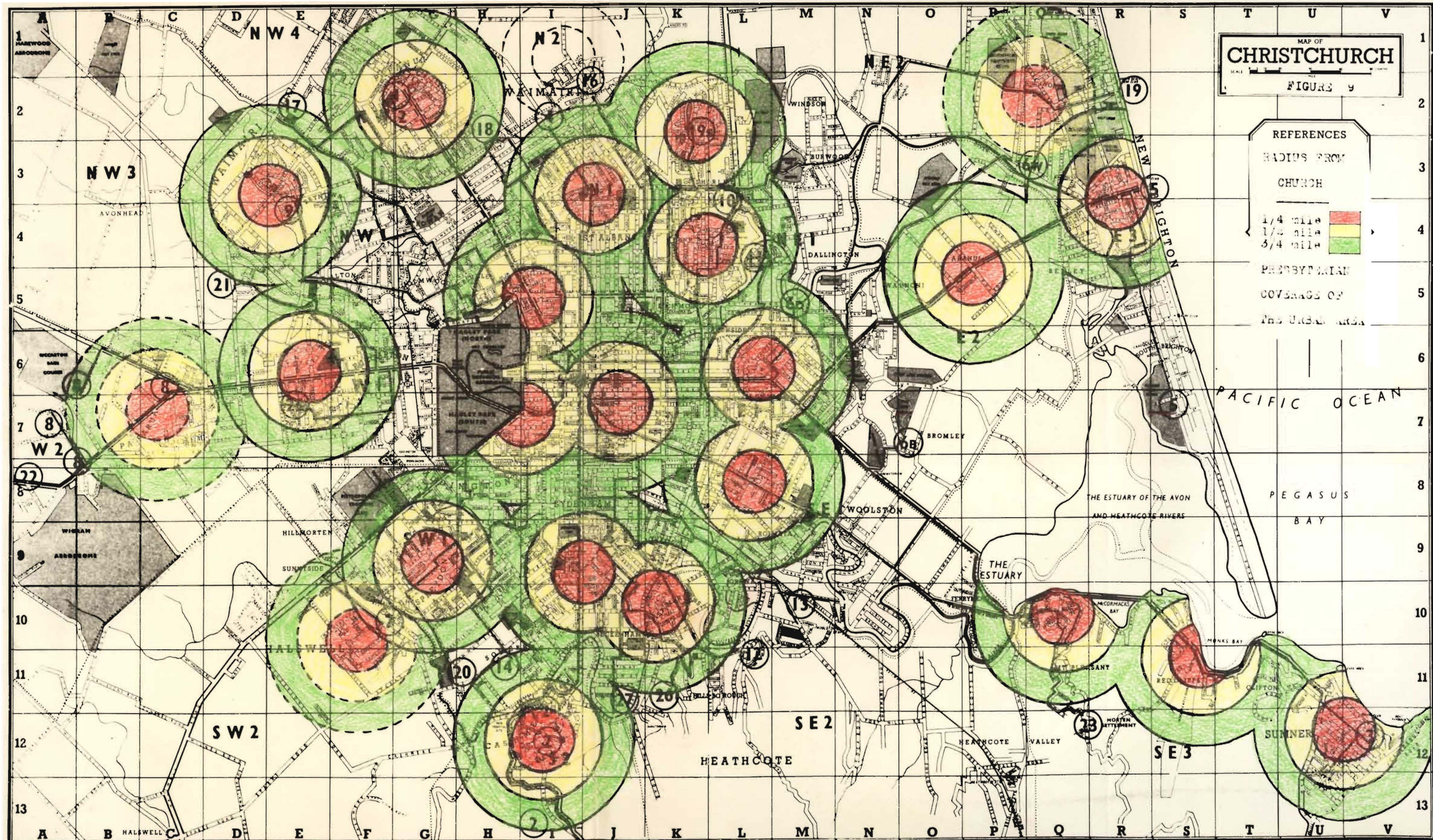
REFERENCES
RADIUS FROM
CHURCH

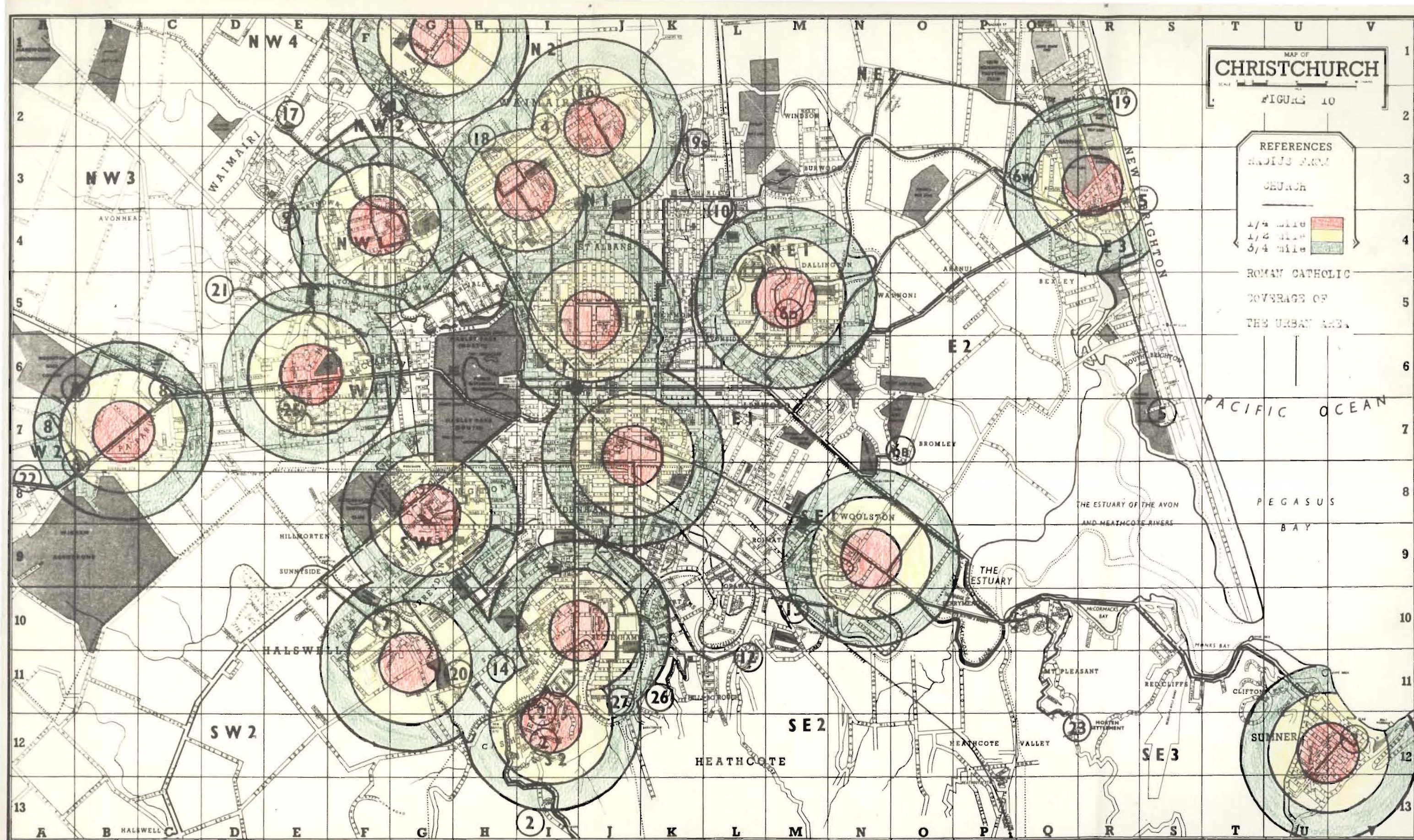
- 1/4 mile
- 1/2 mile
- 3/4 mile

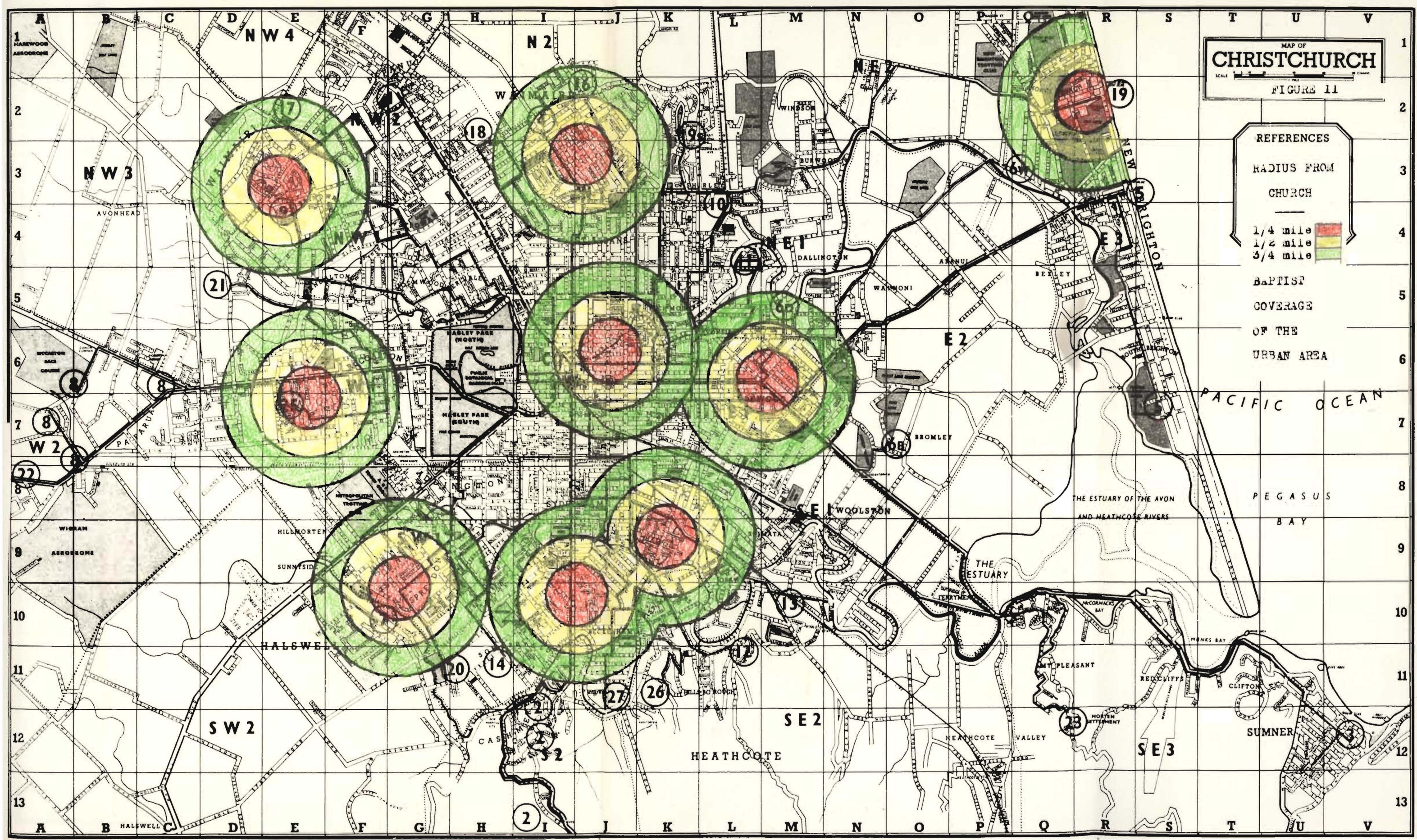
CHURCH OF ENGLAND
COVERAGE OF
THE URBAN AREA

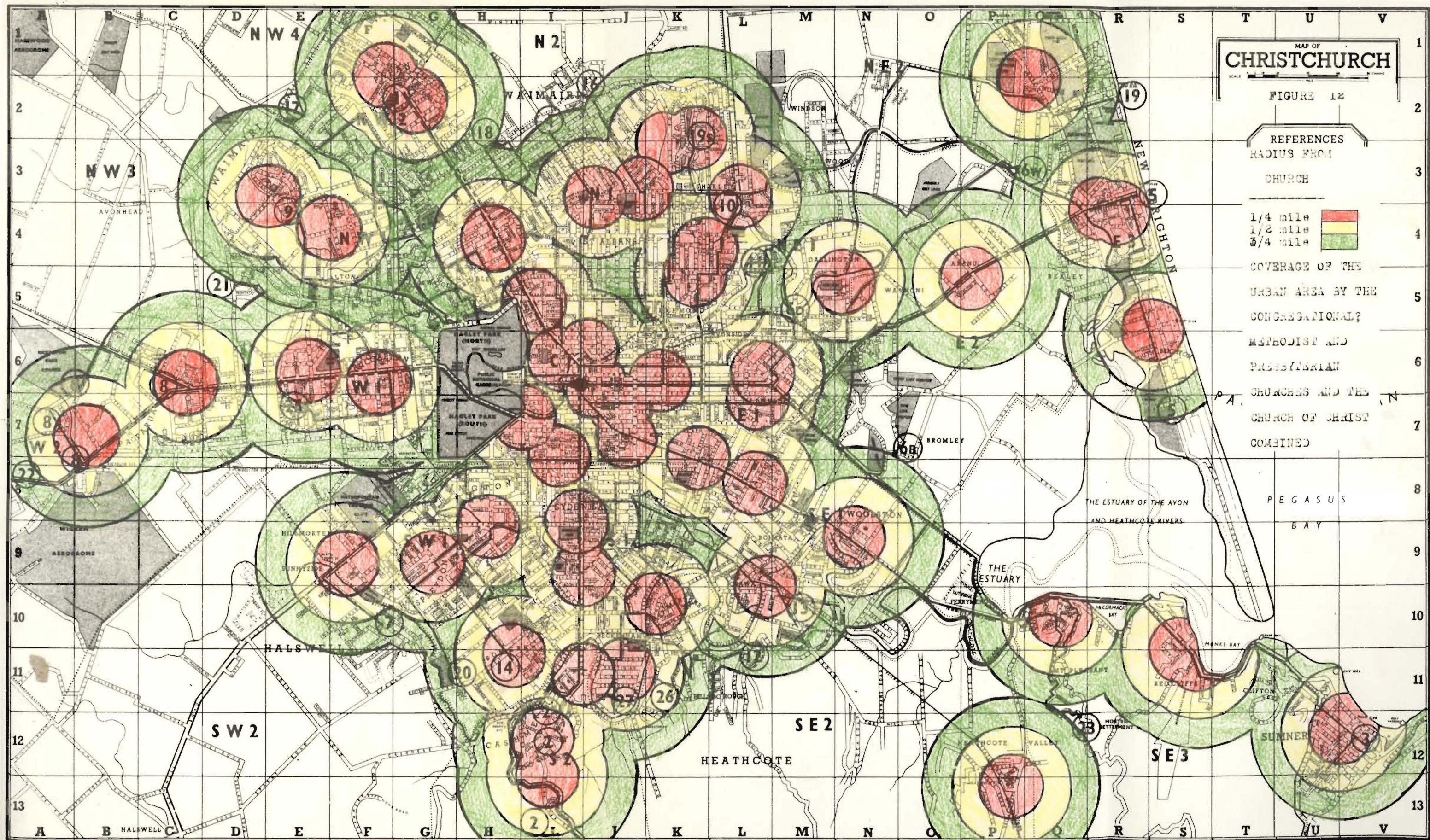


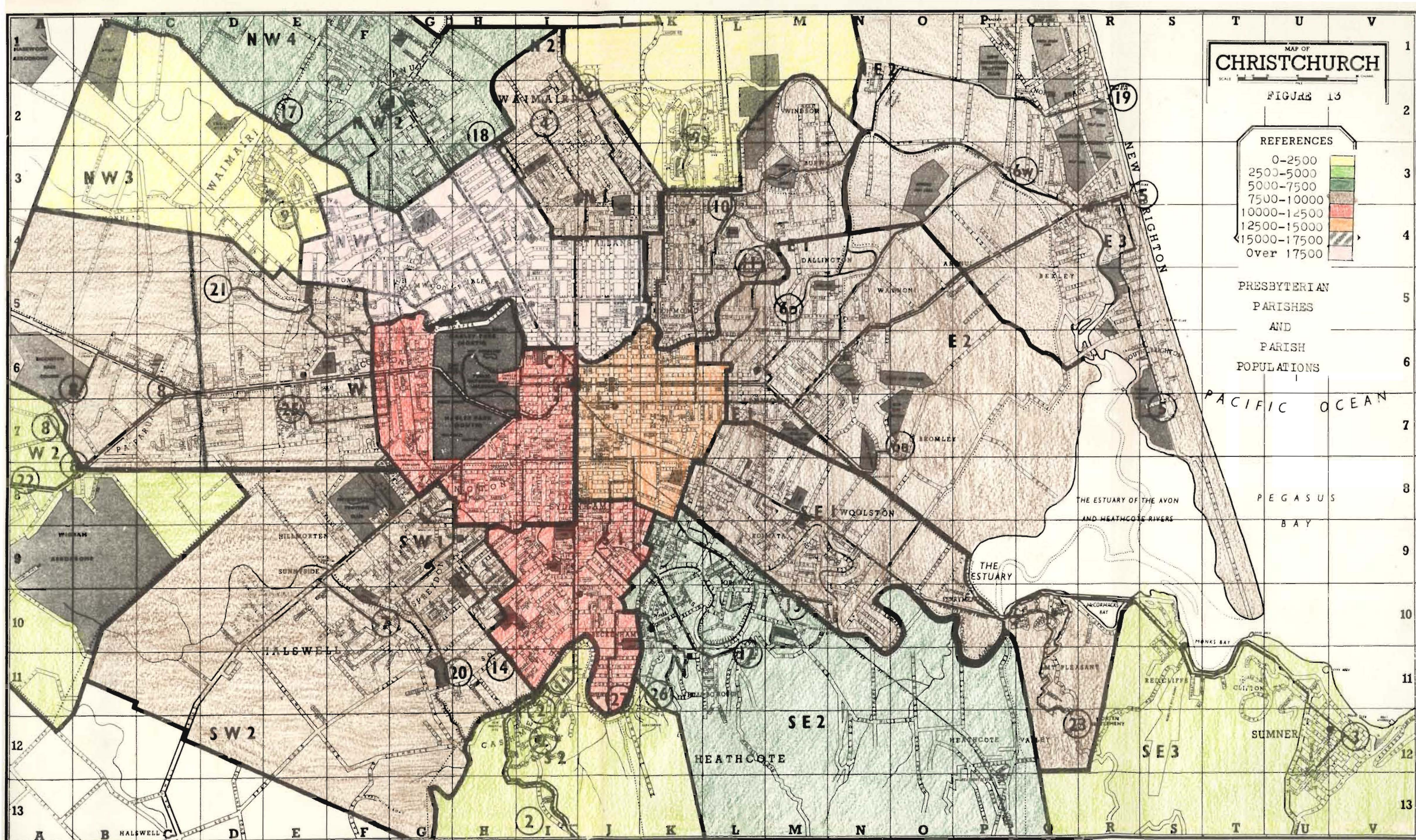




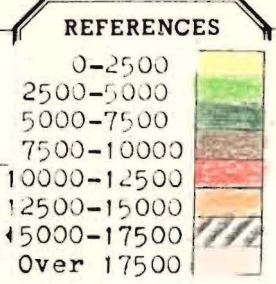








MAP OF
CHRISTCHURCH
SCALE 1:50,000
FIGURE 14



CHURCH OF ENGLAND
PARISHES
AND
PARISH POPULATIONS

